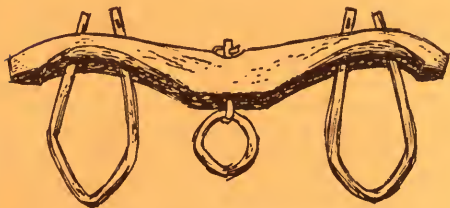


The Negro Problem
Abraham Lincoln's Solution

William P. Pickett

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The Negro Problem

Abraham Lincoln's Solution

By

William P. Pickett

Abraham Lincoln

After a photograph by Rice, Washington
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Diseases desperate grown
By desperate appliance are relieved,
Or not at all.

Hamlet.

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press

1909



Abraham Lincoln

After a portrait of Rice, W. J. Johnson
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WILLIAM P. PICKETT

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

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TO THE THINKING MEN AND WOMEN OF
THE UNITED STATES, WHO, REALIZING THE
GRAVITY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM, ARE SEEK-
ING IN PERPLEXITY FOR ITS SOLUTION,
THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

Replacement. 5 Apr. 1950. Slechert.

2 May 50 Polony

Our part is not fitly sustained upon the earth unless the range of our intended and deliberate usefulness includes not only the companions, but the successors of our pilgrimage.

God has lent us the earth for our life; it is a great entail. It belongs as much to those who are to come after us, and whose names are already written in the book of creation, as to us; and we have no right, by anything that we do or neglect, to involve them in unnecessary penalties, or to deprive them of benefits which it was in our power to bequeath. And this the more, because it is one of the appointed conditions of the labor of men that in proportion to the time between the seed-sowing and the harvest, is the fulness of the fruit, and that generally, therefore, the farther off we place our aim and the less we desire to be ourselves the witnesses of what we have labored for, the more wide and rich will be the measure of our success.

Men cannot benefit those who are with them as they can benefit those who come after them; and of all the pulpits from which human voice is ever sent forth, there is none from which it reaches so far as from the grave.

JOHN RUSKIN.

PREFACE

IN presenting to the public another work upon the much discussed negro question, it seems fitting that some word of explanation should be offered as to the reason for its appearance. For some years the subject has been to me one of engrossing interest, and in my reading from time to time of the controversial literature upon the subject in its various relations, I have been forcibly impressed by the constant repetition of the thought that the problem is in its essential character insoluble. This view finds expression in the repeated employment of this particular word, and also in the frequent recurrence of phrases of similar import, denoting an apparent acceptance of the hopelessness of any attempt to secure a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between the Caucasian and African races in this country.

It was the consideration of this aspect of the problem which induced me to give the subject renewed examination, in order to ascertain whether the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs must continue indefinitely to embarrass our national development, or whether, after all, this old and vexatious question is not susceptible of a solution at once adequate and righteous. Can there be, in the nature of things, a national evil of this momentous character so deeply rooted in our institutions as to be impossible of extirpation?

In pursuing this line of inquiry, I was soon to learn that Abraham Lincoln had early elaborated a plan to guard his country against the future evils which he clearly discerned

as originating in the presence of the negro; and that having once proposed this plan to his countrymen he had steadily adhered to it up to the hour of his untimely death. The thought then came to me to examine the present condition of the matter, and to ascertain if Lincoln's plan was yet feasible and if it could be successfully applied under the changed circumstances brought about by the forty-six years which have passed since he issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation. After study and reflection, feeling profoundly convinced that the plan is still feasible, and that the years which have elapsed since Lincoln laid it before Congress have but served as a period of preparation for its execution, I have determined to invite the attention of my readers to a serious and thorough investigation of this important subject.

I am not unmindful of the circumstance that others have suggested the same remedy, and that in many studies upon the problem it has been the subject of casual discussion. Its obvious character would assure that fact. But I am not aware of the existence of any work devoted to the topic upon the lines advocated by Lincoln, and which addresses itself solely to the consideration of the *solution of the problem*. Books there are in plentiful supply, of discussion of the history of the slavery question and of the virtues and defects of our negro population, but none devoted exclusively to the subject of providing a remedy for a concededly intolerable situation.

The plan proposed in the following pages is advanced as a radical remedy for the evil caused by the presence of the negro race, which so seriously affects the national welfare. It is not urged as an evasion of our responsibility, or as a postponement of the question, or as a palliative of the evil. It dares by analysis to seek the origin of the disease, and by foresight, coupled with generosity, to apply the means requi-

site for its cure. Although the proposed solution is difficult, it is beyond question practicable, and though expensive in the beginning would be found in the end to subserve the purposes of economy.

In my treatment of the subject I have endeavored to be scrupulously accurate in the presentation of facts, and fair in the inferences and conclusions which I have sought to deduce from them. The book is not written to promote any theory of politics or to advance the fortunes of any political organization. If there be in its pages matter calculated to give offence to any section of the country, or to any race or class of people, this arises from the necessity of frank and fearless speaking upon the subject, and not from any desire of mine to inflict needless affront.

I feel that the work needs no apology for its existence. "By the truth alone we are made free," and the purpose of the book is the ascertainment of truth. For upward of a century the country has wrangled and theorized about the negro race. Its presence in the land has always operated as an impediment to progress and as an element of national disintegration. Our late Civil War is directly attributable to our contention concerning the black man, and on at least three other occasions in our history the menace of fratricidal strife has arisen, invoked by causes springing directly from sectional differences upon the subject of his treatment. In the present acute and unsatisfactory condition of the subject of the negro's future, the suggestion of a little heart searching upon the problem appears timely, and if the present work may in some small measure contribute to its final and successful solution, my purpose will be accomplished.

My intention has been to spare the reader, so far as possible, the labor of examining tables of statistics. I have, therefore, introduced only such matter of this character as seemed

indispensable to the proper development of the thought, and have sought to make the application of the figures presented of the most practical character.

In conclusion, I desire to express my obligation to the many friends who have aided and encouraged me in the preparation of this work. Especially, to Mr. Hugo Wintner of the New York Bar, for his invaluable assistance in the reading and revision of the manuscript and his numerous suggestions leading to improvement of the text; to my brother, Mr. J. D. Pickett, for like services and for his constant helpfulness in the correction of the proofs and the preparation of the book for publication; and to Miss Ethel L. Frost, for her untiring assistance in the preparation of the manuscript and for many valuable suggestions as to the form and arrangement of the matter.

WILLIAM P. PICKETT.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1909.

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BOOK I
The Problem

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER OF THE PROBLEM

The longer I live and the more I study the question, the more I am convinced that it is not so much a problem as to what the white man will do with the negro as what the negro will do with the white man and his civilization.—BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

THE purpose of this work is to present to the people of the United States a plan for the solution of the negro problem, upon the lines proposed forty-six years ago by Abraham Lincoln. The intention is to restrict the discussion as far as possible to the questions of the present condition of the problem and the means of effecting its solution, and to refrain from dwelling upon its origin, history, and the unfortunate episodes connected with it in the past, except in so far as consideration of these subjects may serve to light our footsteps along the path of the main inquiry.

Numerous volumes, enough in themselves to constitute an extensive literature, have been devoted to the history, character, humor, and pathos of the negro race in the United States, and to the discussion of the social, political, scientific, and moral aspects of the problem created by its presence. These works illuminate the present with the story of the past, and compel our absorbing interest in the record of the struggle to secure freedom for a downtrodden people; but as the sole motive of the present writer is to place before the thoughtful men and women of the country a practi-

The Negro Problem

cal working plan for the final solution of the problem, to that immediate purpose all discussion will be particularly directed.

The plan of the work embraces a division of the subject into four parts:

FIRST: An examination of the problem as to its present condition, with reference to its character and dimensions, its dangers, and the reasons which so urgently enforce the necessity of a solution.

SECOND: An inquiry as to the character of the plans heretofore offered for its solution, and a determination as to the righteousness of their adoption and their adequacy for the purpose of a final adjustment.

THIRD: A statement of the plan proposed by the writer, founded upon the principles advocated by Abraham Lincoln, with a discussion of the methods by which the plan offered for consideration could be carried out, and of the objections which might apparently be urged against its execution.

FOURTH: A discussion of the beneficial results certain to follow the adoption of the proposed remedy, as well to the negro as to the white race.

Few persons of discerning mind would be disposed to deny that the gravest question now confronting this nation is the one which, for want of a better name, we designate "THE NEGRO PROBLEM." This question concerns itself with the formation of a definite plan for the permanent adjustment of the future relations of the Caucasian and Negro races now inhabiting the country. It is a question of supreme importance; one neither to be evaded nor postponed. Deeply rooted in our country's history, defying all efforts heretofore made to bring about its solution, this negro problem is the one glaring blot upon the record of our national progress, the one enigma for which we can, apparently, find no satisfactory explanation.

It is, indeed, the one question which, past, present, and future, overshadows all others affecting our national development. In one great section of the country it obtrudes itself into all forms of industrial and business relations, and shapes the social and political institutions of the people. It occupies the attention of our courts and legislatures, and in its special developments defies the Supreme Court of the country. The presence of a large element of the negro race tends to alienate our people on the subject of religious belief, to impair the discipline of our army, and to disturb our foreign relations. Further, it strikes at the very root of our national virtue by rendering our elections in the South fraudulent,—a mere series of unworthy subterfuges;—while in countless ways it corrupts the physical, intellectual, and moral fibre of the nation. The strained relations engendered by the race antagonism between the blacks and the whites operate at once as a clog upon the progress of the white race and a barrier against any advancement on the part of the black.

In the presence of this problem of the negro, all others are dwarfed into insignificance, and thinking minds concede that this is for our country the supreme social question of the time. Other important issues arise, demand solution, and are disposed of with satisfactory results, passing with settlement out of public attention,—but this problem remains. All of our other exigent social questions involving moral and economic considerations are from one or another viewpoint susceptible of solution;—we can at least perceive some prospect of improvement, and can forecast the probable result of remedial measures.

If we have a problem of divorce, we can read the solution in the evolution of a higher conception of individual duty, conjoined with the abolition of conflicting and incongruous laws among the states, and the substitution of a harmonious

national system. If we have a disheartening problem of child labor, we may reasonably expect that by carefully drafted statutes, rigidly administered and enforced through public sentiment, the little ones may be rescued from parental indifference and the heartless greed of employers. If we have a problem of immigration, we know that by the exclusion of undesirable elements and judicious selection and careful distribution of those permitted to enter the country and to enjoy the blessings of our institutions, we can control the situation and minimize possible evils. If we have a grave problem involving the management of railways, we can readily see how, by state supervision or federal control, reforms may be introduced and the crying abuses of the time lessened, or, indeed, eventually abolished.

But the negro problem, older than our national existence, increasing in magnitude and complexity with every decade,—after years of discussion, effort, and toil, after untold sacrifice of life and money,—confronts us to-day as it did our ancestors at the formation of the Constitution,—grim, menacing, unsolved, and apparently unsolvable.

No other of our troublesome questions necessitates a division of the nation along geographical lines. The sugar planter of Louisiana upholds the doctrine of a protective tariff quite as ardently as the lumberman of Wisconsin or the hop grower of the St. Lawrence Valley. The advocate of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor in Vermont rejoices when Georgia decrees the downfall of the saloon. Massachusetts resists the proposed merger of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad with the Boston and Maine with the same arguments and zeal that Alabama employs in enforcing her recently adopted passenger-rate law. The negro question alone is now, as it always has been, in its larger aspects one of geographical character, an impelling force toward the division of the country.

Further and even more important, by its very character this problem has a deeper gravity than any other. It denotes an evil which is organic rather than functional. It touches the very life of the nation because it relates to the material out of which future citizenship is to be developed. Other social problems concern themselves with the modification or improvement of the material,—this touches the very composition of the material itself. The United States has been not inaptly called “the smelting-pot of the nations,” but if the material cast into this gigantic crucible is base and not susceptible of high finish, the product can be but dross, no matter what skill and effort may be expended in its composition.

For reasons which will be more definitely set forth in the succeeding chapters, the present situation of affairs appears to be exceedingly propitious to a renewal of the discussion concerning the solution of the problem. Indeed, events bearing upon its embarrassing influence on our national development crowd so closely upon one another’s heels, that it seems as though some definite adjustment of the vexatious question could not long be deferred. Newspapers and magazines contain multitudinous contributions upon the various phases of the subject, while the output of books devoted to discussion of the question appears to have no limit. Many expressions could be quoted from these sources to the effect that, while the problem is daily becoming more and more pressing, the ultimate solution appears to be more remote than ever, and the prospect of amelioration of the evil correspondingly dubious.

In order clearly to comprehend the nature of the task before us, our first step must be to define and analyze the subject of the discussion. In seeking the cause of the existence of the NEGRO PROBLEM, we find ourselves confronted by an unfortunate and

**The Cause
of the
Problem.**

unprecedented situation. *So far as it affects the United States, it arises from the presence within the country of approximately ten million persons of an alien, inferior, and unassimilable race, domiciled principally in the southeastern section, where, in some states and in many large portions of other states, they form a majority of the population.*

It will be observed that in framing the foregoing statement of the origin of the problem the negro has been characterized as being of an alien race. Such is his essential quality. The residue of the population of the country is substantially of what is variously termed Indo-European or Caucasian extraction, presenting in its ethnic characteristics a complete antithesis to the African or Ethiopian type. Throughout this discussion the term Caucasian will be employed as describing the white people of the United States as a measure of convenience, and without strict regard to its scientific accuracy.

The great majority of the negroes now in the United States are the descendants of African tribes, but two or three generations removed from their original surroundings. Merely transplanting their forefathers from the African continent to the United States has in no manner changed the nature of the race or brought it nearer in physical or moral attributes to the Caucasian. Except for some slight intermixture of blood, producing a mulatto type, the negroes remain as completely aliens to the whites as are their cousins in Africa to-day. The Caucasian race has been for centuries, in one or another capacity, the superior guiding and controlling force in human history, and its record contains the epitome of human achievement. During the same period, on the contrary, the negro has occupied in every relation of life a subordinate position, either as a savage awaiting the touch of civilization, or as a servile people,

existing under the control and direction of the more highly civilized race.

Ethnologically speaking, whether we adopt the doctrine of monogeny and insist upon the original unity of the human race, or embrace the theory of separate race beginnings with progressive amalgamation, in either case we must admit that the two races, as we find them in the United States at the present time, stand at the opposite poles of human appearance and character. Accepting the broad division of the anthropologists, which, while classifying mankind on differing theories as to color, character of hair, or formation of skull, yet concur in separating the world's population into the distinctive Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro groups, we find that whatever method of distinguishment is followed, the result is the same.

The white man and the negro are at the opposite extremities of the scale. In physical, mental, and moral traits, they are as apart from each other as the poles, and except in the fact of the possession of a common language, no two peoples could be more absolutely distinct and antagonistic than the whites and the negroes in this country. We must, therefore, consider this question with a view to the ultimate benefit of two separate and individual races, each entitled under the general scheme of creation to a fairly equal opportunity to develop its latent possibilities.

For the purpose of this work, the present inferiority of the negro race is assumed as an obvious fact, and is considered a matter which, needing no argumentative demonstration, appeals directly to the judgment of a person of ordinary intelligence and observation; and the substantial accuracy of this assumption is not affected by the existence of certain exceptional individuals of African stock. As in matters of jurisprudence

**The Negro
an Inferior
Race.**

there are certain things in the community so well known and established that the courts will take judicial notice of their existence, so at this time in the prosecution of our inquiry, it would be a waste of space to enter upon a discussion of the manifest inferiority of the negro race.

Were it necessary to discuss the question scientifically or historically, and to compile statistics showing his universal present inferiority in all relationships, quotations could be introduced from the works of distinguished physicians and ethnologists classifying the negro as a member of an inferior race, and scientifically attributing to him certain anatomical and physiological imperfections which will permanently prevent him from ever attaining a position as the equal of the white man. Such carefully selected discriminations upon the subject as the following from the pen of Dr. Robert Bennett Bean, a profound student of the characteristics of the negro, might be quoted:

The frontal region of the Negro skull has been repeatedly shown to be much smaller than that of the Caucasian. Considering this fact, the conclusion is reached that the Negro has a smaller proportion of the faculties pertaining to the frontal lobe than the Caucasian. The Negro, then, lacks reason, judgment, apperception, affection, self-control, will power, orientation, ethical and esthetic attributes, and the relation of the ego (of personality or self) to environment.

Dr. Bean has made a special study of the brain of the negro in its comparative relation as to form and weight with that of the white man. He draws the following conclusions from his exhaustive researches:

The conclusion is that the brain of the Negro is smaller than the brain of the white, the stature is also lower, and the body weight is less, and any crossing of the two races results in a brain weight relative to the proportion of white blood in the individual.

The skull capacity of the Negro has been repeatedly demonstrated to be less than that of the Caucasian.¹

But to what end is it necessary to marshal facts, discuss theories, and draw conclusions to demonstrate what to the average observant American citizen is already a well established proposition, viz.—that the negro, as he is found to-day, in our community, is in all respects greatly inferior to the white man with whom he is brought into relationship and resulting competition? Self-evident truths require no argumentative demonstration. If there be those who, after observation and reflection, are not to be convinced of the truth of the foregoing statement as to existing negro inferiority, then this work is not entitled to their serious consideration.

Furthermore, it is not proposed to go into the reason upon which this difference of present position is based. Whether it be natural, inherent inferiority, never by any process of development to be overcome, or merely, as sometimes claimed, the fact that the negro is a backward or undeveloped race, some generations in the rear of the white race in its progress towards ideal humanity, the practical result is the same for the purpose of the offered solution of the problem. The present inferiority is the fact upon which the arguments advanced are founded, for the practical question is the one to be determined.

Perchance ten thousand years from now, long after Macaulay's *New Zealander* has finished his survey of the ruins of St. Paul's from the broken towers of London Bridge; when the civilization of Europe shall have disappeared as completely as that of the Aztecs; when the history of the United States shall appear as remote to the students of

¹ *Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain*, by Robert Bennett Bean, University of Michigan, vol. v., No. 4. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Anatomy*, Sept. 11, 1906.

that time as the Egyptian chronicles of the dynasties preceding Rameses II. are to us; it may be that somewhere in equatorial Africa, or in tropical South America, a negroid empire will be flourishing in power and prosperity, enjoying the possession of a swarthy civilization of its own development, far surpassing anything theretofore achieved by the human race. But as all such conceptions are but the merest speculation, the subject of this exposition must be regarded from a practical standpoint, and not treated as the theme of remote conjecture; and all further discussion in this book is based upon the patent, obvious, irrefragable fact, that at this time and in this country and in relation to this question, the negro race is unquestionably inferior to the white.

The third characteristic of the negro which has contributed to produce the present problem is his absolute unassimilability with the Caucasian. Men and women of differing strains of blood,—Celtic, Latin, Magyar, or Semitic,—arriving upon our shores, are within at the most two or three generations incorporated into the body of the people, and their descendants quickly lose all distinctive traits of their origin. Religious predilections may in form persist, but such offer but slight impediment to the full acquirement of the typical American character. Immigrants and their children intermarry freely with the descendants of the early colonists and with each other, and the unfailing result is the early fusion of the various Caucasian elements. All these elements appear to be susceptible of assimilation.

Not so the negro. After generations of close contact with the Caucasian, scarcely the slightest tendency in that direction is apparent. The physical repulsion existing between the races prevents intermarriage, and renders illicit relations infrequent and non-fruitful. Even in the event of offspring resulting from the alliance of white and black,

there is, strictly speaking, no assimilation of races, as the progeny is in all respects and for every purpose regarded as a member of the negro race.

The presence of some 1,500,000 mulattoes, constituting about one-seventh of the negro population, has caused some scientific alarmists to predict the most direful results from an asserted tendency towards amalgamation. The subject will receive further discussion in its appropriate connection. This mulatto element has for generations existed in much the same proportion as at present, and when we reflect that the result of unions between mulattoes themselves, as well as those between mulattoes and full blood negroes is the addition to the number of the former class, we can find in the statistics no perceptible approach to assimilation.

A striking instance of the strength of the instinct of racial purity may be found in the conduct of that numerous and important element in the South known as "poor whites." Although for generations brought into the most immediate contact with the surrounding black population, and exposed to every species of temptation to lower the barrier against negro equality, the members of this class have refused to intermix with the inferior race, and under present circumstances afford, perhaps, the best examples of unadulterated English blood to be found in the world.

Reasoning *a priori*, we find the non-assimilability of the negro to be caused by the intense racial antipathy which in all times and under all circumstances appears to have existed between races presenting such widely differing characteristics as those marking the distinction between the white people of the United States and the African negro. The former, being principally of North European origin, evince an unconquerable aversion to any admixture of their blood with a people which both reason and sentiment concur in regarding as inferior. This feeling is accentuated by

the fact that in this country the color of the inferior race is associated with its former condition of degrading servitude, and fixes upon it with an indelible mark the status of subordination.

Scott pictures in *Ivanhoe* the wretched plight of the Saxon thrall during the years following the Norman conquest, when, forced to wear soldered fast around his neck a brass ring, the symbol of his subjection to the conqueror, it appeared that his subjugation was a thing of permanent establishment. But in that case no radical difference of race existed, intermarriages followed, sympathetic relations were soon effected, the degrading collar was quickly removed, and complete assimilation followed between the conqueror and conquered. How different the situation of the negro. No removal of his pronounced physical dissimilarity can ever be made possible, and in this fact lies the impossibility of any progress towards assimilation.

Other countries have to some extent accepted intermixture of the negro with the white as a solution of the problem, but the results accomplished by this process in Cuba, Mexico, and South America are scarcely to be regarded as happy illustrations of the beneficial effect of the commingling of alien races. Without further argument, it is in like manner intended to proceed upon the theory that the basic and unalterable differences existing between the races will continue, and must constitute a perpetual element in the consideration of the problem.

Having thus in a measure considered the origin of the problem, we are called upon to state in what its main aspects consist at the present time. The negro problem is difficult of definition; so much depends upon the viewpoint of the individual. For the average Southerner there is no negro problem apart from the utilization of his services as a worker and the necessity of "keep-

**Definition
of the
Problem.**

ing the nigger in his place." The average Northerner expresses slight interest in the matter, contenting himself with saying, "Let the South work it out." A few amiable philanthropists in our Northern cities appear to regard the problem as of simple character, involving merely the question of providing the means necessary to give the negro an education.

For the negro himself, with few exceptions, the problem, if difficult, is not complex, consisting merely in the ascertainment of some easy and effective method of asserting and maintaining his equality in all respects with the white man. The exceptions are the thinking men and women of the race, daily growing in numbers and influence, of whom Booker T. Washington, the universally respected President of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, is the ablest representative in clarity of thought and elevation of purpose. His definition follows:

The problem is how to make these millions of negroes self-supporting, intelligent, economical and valuable citizens, as well as to bring about the proper relations between them and the white citizens among whom they live.

With becoming deference to those who, perhaps better informed than the writer, have sought to frame a definition of this complicated problem, it is submitted that the ordinary presentation of the question is lacking in precision as well as in comprehensiveness, and the following is offered as being sufficiently accurate for the purpose:

By what means may the people of the United States, with the whites and negroes in effective co-operation, bring about the adoption of a definite policy for the permanent adjustment of the relations of the respective races towards each other, so that each may enjoy unrestricted opportunity for develop-

ment; and upon the adoption of such a policy, what measures will be necessary to put it into practical operation?

The negro has never in a true sense formed a component part of the citizenship of this nation. He has always been in a greater or lesser degree in the position of a ward, requiring sympathy, guidance, and control. In strict accuracy, he has never been considered a fully qualified citizen of the country, having had the legal right to national citizenship only for the past forty years, and never having possessed the full exercise of influential citizenship in any part of the land. If individuals of the race have raised themselves above the level of their associates and commanded attention, their authority has been confined to their own people, and in respect to exercising any beneficial influence upon the intellectual or industrial development of the nation, the achievements of the negro have been inconsiderable. His undeveloped character has been the great bar to his progress to prominence and power. Comparatively deficient in intellectual qualifications, unstable in his business relations, notoriously lacking in moral training, uncultivated upon the ethical side of his nature, the negro has remained, in the mass, essentially a child, a subordinate, and to this day is scarcely appreciative of the uncertainty of his position and of his lack of substantial qualifications for citizenship.

The reason the negro has failed to achieve a higher position is superficially considered to arise from the fact that there **Race** exists against him what is called "race prejudice" **Antipathy.** on the part of the white, which closes to him every avenue of opportunity. The employment of the word "prejudice" in this relation is singularly inaccurate. By derivation and established meaning, it signifies an opinion formed or decision made without due examination; a pre-judgment of the matter involved. Such is not the attitude of the Caucasian towards the negro. In strict accuracy

we may say that in the United States there exists on the part of the white people a strong antipathy against the negro, not superficial or unreasonable but founded upon the instinct for racial purity dominating the superior race.

It is useless to deny that this racial antipathy exists. In fact, it is so universal and overwhelming as to constitute an insuperable barrier to the negro's progress. This natural aversion to the African is something which the Creator has implanted so firmly in the breasts of the white men and women of the United States that no scheme of education, no process of religious training, no appeal to imagined higher traits of character, is effectual perceptibly to lessen its force. We may be taught in our churches to regard the negro as a brother under the great fatherhood of God, but the lesson of fraternity proves hopelessly insufficient when brought to the test of every day conditions of life.

This pronounced repulsion of the white toward the negro is a thing not to be ignored. It must be taken into account in every discussion of the prospect of the amelioration of the condition of the negro race. It is founded upon such fundamental, primitive instincts that its eradication is absolutely impossible. As a result of this overpowering race antipathy, the negro is unable even to secure an opportunity for his development.

Nor does this feeling of repulsion exist solely upon the part of the white race. In a measure it is quite as keen and active with the negro, displaying itself in a different aspect. Under the usual apparent submissiveness and deference of the negro, more especially in the mulatto individual, is to be found a sullen, malignant hatred of the superior race, easily inflamed and jealously quickening into life under slight provocation. This is but the natural result of centuries of scornful treatment, industrial oppression, and constant assertion of race superiority.

Is the negro forever to endure insult and outrage in the South, contempt and humiliation in the North? Cannot Atlanta shootings, Springfield hangings, Indiana banishments, Texas conflagrations, and New England scornful isolation stir his sluggish blood? May he not, at least, have the privilege of saying to the white man what the outraged Shylock says facing his Christian persecutors?—

Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villany you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

The imminency of the negro problem lies in the clash of the democratic theory of government with the presence of an inferior and practically a subject race, and unless we are prepared to avoid a succession of Brownsville incidents by establishing a system of permanent caste, iron in its inflexibility and designed rigidly and forever to confine the negro to an inferior position, we must find some means to remedy the existing condition of racial discord.

The aspiration of the negro race is for equality, and in a land where the Declaration of Independence is yet held in some reverence, and where elaborate constitutional provisions assure its members protection, the opportunity for equality cannot safely be denied the humblest member of the race.

**The Negro's
Demand for
Equality.**

Now, equality means simply equality; it is subject to no qualification, permits no limitations, brooks no denial, will undergo no abridgment. Less than the most absolute equality is no equality whatever. In a democracy there is no room for a class based upon unchangeable physical characteristics and doomed to permanent inferiority in any relation of life. To realize his yearning, to establish his equality, and to command equal opportunities, the negro must be granted: (1) Industrial equality. (2) Business equality. (3) Political equality. (4) Social equality. (5) Matrimonial equality.

Each and every one of the foregoing is equally essential; debar the negro from one, you debar him from all; impose upon him as a race any restriction and equality ceases to exist.

To live in comfort amidst decent surroundings, to enjoy the respect of his family, his neighbors, and employers, the **Industrial Equality.** negro must be allowed the opportunity of working in the same occupations and upon the same terms and conditions as the white man. He must be subjected to no discrimination based on factitious reasons, and must be freely admitted to association with his fellow-laborers and to participation in the benefits of the great principle of equality underlying the labor organizations, so potential in advancing the condition of those engaged in manual occupations.

The necessary and, indeed, unailing consequence of equality in industrial occupations is the opportunity for **Business Equality.** advancement to equality of business position and influence. Unless the negro workman may aspire to the position of foreman, unless the negro foreman may himself become employer, unless the negro clerk may be promoted to partnership, there can be no such thing as business equality. If the black man is not to be allowed

The Negro Problem

to compete in all respects on equal footing with his white competitor, he will find himself hopelessly handicapped in the struggle for business success.

Without political equality all other is a mockery and delusion. Unless the negro citizen may be assured of free access to the polls and in perfect equality may enter the jury box; unless he be recognized as in every respect the political equal of every other citizen, and subjected to no species of discrimination; unless he be given the opportunity to render honorable service as an official in any community in which his race chances to constitute a majority; all other equality is delusory. Without political equality there can be no industrial or business equality, and unless we are prepared distinctly to repudiate the time-honored principle of no taxation without representation, there can be no denial to the black man, North or South, of his privilege to participate at elections and to sit upon the jury panel, in every respect in equal association with the members of the superior race.

We now approach the consideration of an element in the question of equality which many uninformed writers on the negro problem affect to consider as separate and distinct from those just covered by our discussion. There appears to be a belief in some quarters that industrial, business, and even political equality may exist without involving the concession of social equality. Such a thing is impossible. As remarked at the opening of the discussion of this phase of the subject, if equality exists at all, it must be absolute and unconditional. Unless there is to be the most emphatic recognition of the social equality of the members of the two races, it is impossible to maintain that either one or the other will not be compelled to accept inferior business advantages, and there can be but little question in such case as to which race will be the sufferer.

The negro understands this. Even the "Jim Crow" laws enacted to establish his inferior social status, and which will later receive some consideration, in form provide equal accommodations for both races, but the negro well knows that, in point of fact, the discrimination is entirely against him. Unless, untrammelled by racial qualities, the individual is entitled to be respected as a social equal on his own merits, no business success or accumulation of wealth, nor even the possession of political power, can make him other than an inferior. If the man with whom I transact business is deemed unworthy to accept social courtesies at my hands, I proclaim him to be my inferior, and any theory upon which it is assumed that in this country the Caucasian and negro can meet upon a plane of equality in the shop, the market place, or the political caucus, and yet hold themselves aloof in all social relations, is thoroughly fallacious.

Occasion will be taken as the argument develops to emphasize the fact that in the existing situation as to social customs, the negro, North and South, is denied the privilege of associating freely and on a footing of equality with other citizens. In the words of Kelly Miller, one of the foremost writers of the race,—

Here are two peoples domiciled in the same territory, invested with equal civil and political rights, speaking the same language, loyal to the same institutions, worshipping God after the same ritual, and linked together in a common destiny; and yet in all purely personal and pleasurable intercourse they are as far apart as if separated by interstellar space.

Accepting this rigorous denial to the negro of social equality as a present and continuing factor of the problem, we can see how in its inexorable result it operates to deprive him of his political and civil rights as well as to restrict his edu-

The Negro Problem

cational and industrial opportunities. We are, therefore, brought face to face at this stage of the inquiry with this final question:—Upon what reasonable foundation does this refusal to accord to the negro the much desired privilege of social affiliations rest, and is it likely to remain an enduring element in our future attitude towards that race?

The answer is simple,—the rejection of all claim on the part of the negro to mingle with the white race on a plane of social equality is based on the perception of the superior race that to permit such a custom would inevitably lead to the debasement of the Caucasian blood. The instinct of race purity, implanted especially in the women of the superior race, impels the most strenuous opposition to all attempts to establish a condition of matrimonial equality between the races. Yet such a condition would necessarily follow from permitting social equality.

It is idle to assert, as is frequently done by negro essayists upon the subject, that the two races could establish intimate social relations, commingling freely in all walks of life, without bringing about a general condition of miscegenation. White men, and particularly white women, know that to admit negroes to the intimacies of family life, to welcome them to the table and the drawing-room, to associate with them at the church and theatre, to join with them in the dance and in the thousand and one different ways in which young people find enjoyment and recreation, would be possible only upon the assumption of the eligibility of the race to join in matrimony with the Caucasian.

Against such a possibility the strongest instincts of the more refined and progressive race protest. Its members appreciate the full force of the danger of race deterioration following any intermixture of African blood, and in the most emphatic terms forbid the suggestion of matrimonial equality.

A striking illustration of this feeling was afforded in the recent acrimonious debate in the House of Representatives upon the proposition to establish separate accommodations for the two races in the street cars of Washington. Pressed by embarrassing questions, and carried away by oratorical fervor, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. Campbell) professed to believe in the association of whites and negroes in school and church. When, however, he was called upon to announce his belief in the propriety of marriage between the races, the instinct of the Caucasian blood asserted itself, and to the applause of both sides of the House he declared with impressive emphasis that such unions were impossible.

There is no necessity for prolonged discussion upon this point. The repugnance of racial feeling, based upon the opposite characters of white and negro, will insure, in the future, even more rigidly than in the past, the denial to the negro of matrimonial equality. And failing in this, as our reasoning demonstrates, he can achieve no equality whatever. Forbidden matrimonial equality, he cannot attain social privileges. Denied social equality, his political status becomes that of an inferior. Refused political equality, his progress in business is hampered, his education retarded, and his industrial subordination assured. In fine, so long as his ethnic traits remain as they are, his position in this country must continue to be one of recognized inferiority.

What has heretofore been said in relation to the character of the problem may perhaps appear to some readers unnecessary, as many of the propositions discussed are elementary and probably familiar to those who have read much of our current literature upon the subject. But in order that the proposed remedy for the evil might be properly presented, it has seemed necessary to devote the foregoing pages to the examination of the nature of the question and a brief description of the principles underlying the situation.

History affords us no precedents to aid in the solution of this problem. Our democratic theory of government, predicated upon the absolute equality of all participants, an equality limited by no restrictions of race, religion, wealth, or hereditary standing, forbids the solution which in times of antiquity would have been of easy adoption, and which, even in our day, other nations, basing their powers of government upon different principles, could consistently apply.

No Precedents for this Problem.

In his recent work on *Greater America*, Archibald R. Colquhoun, a distinguished English student of race problems, after discussing the unsatisfactory condition of the negro question in the United States, has this suggestion to make:

If the American would acknowledge freely and honestly the breakdown of the democratic system, would accept his position as the dominant factor in a great republican empire, would cease to endeavor to square his theory with his practice, he might still advance along the paths of progress, might achieve the freest and most liberal form of government, but would still not be debarred from dealing justly with alien and subject races.

We cannot look back for guidance to the states of antiquity, where might alone ruled and slavery was the common condition of all inferior races. Greece developed a citizenship of the highest order, based upon the foundation of human slavery, and Roman citizenship was extended only to the few favored dwellers upon the Italian peninsula. No theory of human brotherhood existed to embarrass these conquering peoples in their treatment of the unfortunate nations whom they subjugated. When later the clash of contending races came between the Christians and Moors in Spain, it was solved, as all such problems of old were

solved, by the truculent processes of extermination and exile.

But better conditions now prevail in Europe, and in our time we have little Belgium, where the Celtic Walloon faces the Teutonic Fleming across a line of sharp demarcation in race, language, and religion, yet preserving harmony and prosperity through their relationship. In Switzerland three distinct races,—French, German, and Italian,—strongly differing in religion, language, and physical characteristics, intermingle in substantial accord in carrying on the work of this progressive and contented commonwealth. Austria, containing a dozen jarring racial elements, contrives to preserve a semblance of consistent government among them, founded in large part upon an equality of influence proportionate to population.

Some remote analogy between our problem and the relations of England and Ireland might be established, but certainly no contemplated solution of the Irish problem can be considered as offering to this country a precedent for treatment of the black man. England finds little or no difficulty in controlling the numerous subject races scattered throughout her broad dominion, although at the present moment a difficulty quite akin to ours appears to be looming up in South Africa, where the black man is called upon to work or disappear before the wave of advancing civilization, and the unrest of her Hindoo subjects is fast becoming a matter of serious concern. But that country has no fine-spun theories upon the philosophic problems of human rights, no great declaration which, proclaiming the equality of all mankind, hampers her in her practical administration of affairs, and she has no subject race intermingling with her people upon the sacred soil of Old England.

So that, look around as we may, we find no other nation facing a situation bearing resemblance to our present diffi-

culty, and no problem of like quality and magnitude which has received solution in the past upon lines which we could adopt consistently with the high character of our Christian civilization.

Are we then to abandon hope? By no means. As the gravity of this novel and most baneful of problems discloses itself, so much the greater in proportion must be the earnestness of our attempt to bring it to practical solution.

To this end, we must first consider to whom does this problem, in the solution of which we are about to engage, belong. The common practice is to dispose of the subject offhand by saying, "It is the problem of the South,—let them work it out down there." And Southern students and statesmen are apt to regard it as something of an intrusion into their affairs for one of the North even to suggest that their section should not be entrusted with the final application of remedies for the evil, and that the trouble is of national proportions.

To Whom
Does the
Problem
Belong?

Thomas Nelson Page, who has written much, and, with some qualifications, wisely, upon the subject, defines the problem as that of the Southerner, upon the theory that as the great majority of negroes are congregated in the former slave states, of necessity the problem must be worked out in that region, and the solution of the South accepted by the nation. In this he represents the general sentiment of his section, which is inclined to consider any discussion by even well informed and kindly intentioned Northerners as an interference with its domestic affairs.

But this view can immediately be seen to be superficial, as the evil is one which affects every section of the country, and any measure in relation to it taken by Mississippi has an instant moral and political effect upon the entire North. It will not answer in this enlightened period to say that the

South has solved the problem in a manner satisfactory to itself. The brain and conscience of the nation must be enlisted in the duty of finding the best solution.

The North, therefore, is doubly concerned in the solution of the problem, quite as much because it bears its full share of the responsibility for the existence of the negro in the South as because any adjustment of the difficulty must be carried out with the aid and liberal assistance of the former section. At the close of the war the North undertook to establish the status of the negro, to regulate his relationships, social and political, with the whites of the South, and the influence of the measures adopted during the reconstruction era has brought about the present condition; so that both for reasons founded on the past and looking to the future, the solution of the problem is quite as much the duty of New England, New York, and the West, as it is that of the former slave-holding states.

Accepting the truth of this proposition, we reach the conclusion that the problem is one for the nation as a whole to solve. No section can be exonerated from sharing the burden of the obligation. The North does not constitute the nation any more than the South, the East stands in the same relation to the question as the West. All sections are concerned alike in the performance of the stupendous task of finding a remedy for the evil, and to the reason, conscience, energy, intelligence, and high devotion to duty of the ninety million of American citizens, conjointly and cooperatively, must be entrusted this momentous undertaking.

But after all has been done that may be done, and all has been said that may be said, ultimately and in the larger sense, the problem is that of the negro himself. His race is not only the one most intimately concerned in its disposition, but, in the last analysis, it is the only one that can effect a complete and honorable solution.

In the individual life each separate soul must, by unaided toil, in loneliness of spirit, in hours of labor, in striving and oftentimes disheartenment, develop the valuable qualities with which it has been endowed by its Creator. So the great master-races of the world—Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, and English—have each in its own time, and in its own manner, carried forward the progressive civilization of the world by doing the creative work of its own development. If the solution of the problem of the individual life be the development of character, and this perfected alone by love, labor, self-reliance, and chastisement of spirit, then the great racial problem now under discussion can only be solved by the exercise on the part of the negro himself of some of the highest and most resplendent qualities of which human nature is capable.

This, then, is the task of the negro, and it is only by his resolute determination to spare himself no toil, to shrink from no labor and no sacrifice, to face all perils and hardships, in order to achieve for his race a position among the nations of the earth, that the solution of the problem may be realized. The world may look on, hope and sympathize, and to a limited degree assist, but unless the negro population of this country arises to the proper perception of the gravity of the situation, and grasps the present opportunity to establish itself in an independent position, no matter what other outcome of the problem here discussed may result, the word *failure* will be inscribed upon the record of the ages against the name of the African race.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

But our deeds are like children that are born to us; they live and act apart from our own will. Nay, children may be strangled, but deeds never. They have an indestructible life, both in and out of our consciousness.—GEORGE ELIOT.

IN order fully to comprehend the gravity of the situation and to understand the present condition and prospects of the negro race in this country, a brief examination of the historical aspects of the problem and a review of the salient facts of the connection of the negro with the white population will be necessary. For nearly three centuries the history and development of the negro in this country have been so closely identified with those of the superior race that no thorough understanding of his present circumstances, North and South, can be reached without some comprehension of the beginning and development of the problem.

It forms no part of the plan of this work to present a detailed history of the negro race in the United States. Able pens have given the subject careful attention. To those who desire to pursue this topic in detail both races have supplied historical works to aid the investigation. For a broad-minded, philosophic discussion of the historical aspects of the subject, the reader is referred to the recent work of George S. Merriam, Esq., of Springfield, Massachusetts, entitled, *The Negro and the Nation, a History of Slavery and Emancipation*. This volume leaves little

to be added as a scholarly and sympathetic study of the connection of the two races in our history.

Recurring to the earliest recorded annals of the human race, the negro is found invariably occupied in some menial capacity,—always a personal attendant or a burden-bearing slave. We are not called upon here to adopt or refute the scriptural theory of the curse of Noah resting upon Ham and his descendants, condemning them to perpetual slavery. It is enough for our purpose to record this fact of uniform social and political abasement without seeking the cause. Throughout all history, in song and story, in biblical narrative and in the pages of the dramatists, the negro at all times and in all places has been depicted as a being of subordinate capacity, a subject and dependent race. In his own country the centuries have rolled away, finding him always in the same condition of dense ignorance and unalleviated savagery, and there to a large degree he remains to this day, without apparent prospect of amelioration.

I quote from Thomas Dixon, Jr., the following expressive words, which without exaggeration adequately portray the record of this non-progressive race:

The negro has held the continent of Africa since the dawn of history, crunching acres of diamonds beneath his feet. Yet he never picked one up from the dust until a white man showed him its light. His land swarmed with powerful and docile animals, yet he never built a harness, cart or sled. A hunter by necessity, he never made an axe, spear or arrowhead worth preserving beyond the moment of its use. In a land of stone and timber, he never carved a block, sawed a foot of lumber or built a house save of broken sticks and mud, and for four thousand years he gazed upon the sea, yet never dreamed of a sail.

Originally a savage when the white man was well ad-

vanced in the path of progress; forcibly abducted from the barbarism of his native jungle and brought to this country by the slave-trader; incapable of speaking the language or understanding the institutions of the land of his captivity; limited in his capacity and yet more limited in his opportunity, the negro's condition in the United States from the beginning to the present has been that of an unfortunate dependent.

In the year 1619 we find the first mention of the negro as an element in our colonial history. At that time there were introduced into Virginia as a profitable trading speculation fourteen negro slaves, and with their coming the negro problem may be said to have had its origin. To the ship which transported this unfortunate human freight may well be applied the words of the poet Milton:

**The Negro
in the
Colonial
Period.**

That fatal, that perfidious bark,
Built i' the eclipse, and rigged with curses dark.

Following this importation the history of the negro population of Virginia is that of a slow but steady numerical growth. Contemned by the spirit of caste and oppressed by the harshest laws, they were held in the vice-like grip of slavery, but as a result of natural increase in numbers and as a consequence of profitable employment, resulting in the importation of thousands of others, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War there were upward of two hundred thousand negroes within the colony of Virginia. While a few were classified as free negroes, the great majority were in a state of abject slavery. The history of the Virginian colony in this respect is typical of that of the other colonies of the South, and to some extent of those of the Northern section of the country.

In New York in the early days of settlement under the

Dutch colonial government negro slaves abounded, and after the acquisition of the province by the English government the slave-trade became very active. By the year 1741, negroes were so numerous in the colony, especially in the City of New York, as to create the gravest apprehension for the safety of the white inhabitants. In that year panic-stricken colonists discovered what ignorance and racial animosity magnified into a negro plot by which it was believed that the slaves in the City of New York intended to rise against their masters, slaughter the white population, and to establish for themselves a government dominated by negroes. Hundreds of blacks, poor ignorant wretches, principally servants and others employed in the most menial capacities, unschooled even in the language of the country, and unfamiliar with its institutions, were arrested and cast into prison. As a result of this groundless panic, eighteen negroes were hanged, fourteen burned at the stake, seventy-one transported, and many others subjected to minor but cruel punishment.

It would appear that punitive measures to keep the negro in his place were early invoked in this country. The whole story of this alleged plot seems like a monstrous nightmare, and yet it is a forcible illustration of that all-pervading fear which will deprive a community of all common-sense when the apprehension of the domination of an inferior race gains possession of the minds of the people.

At the time of the Revolution there were twenty-six thousand negroes in the colony of New York, a much larger proportion to the white population than exists at the present time.

New England also was subjected to the reproach of negro slavery, negroes being numerous in every one of the four New England colonies then forming that section, while the transportation of human freight from the African west coast

to the Southern colonies for the purpose of slavery furnished a profitable industry for New England ship-owners. Harsh and repressive laws were adopted in all the Eastern colonies, subjecting the unfortunate negroes to severe penalties for the slightest acts of insubordination, and while some few were so fortunate as to acquire their freedom, the great mass were held in the condition of slavery so universal for that race at that time. The census for 1790 shows the presence of seventeen thousand negroes in the New England states, nearly all of them held as slaves, and distributed mainly among the important seacoast cities.

The general facts here stated are indicative of the condition of affairs in the other American colonies. North and South, the negroes in colonial times were subjected to the most rigorous control; they were scarcely regarded as possessed of ordinary human rights, and indeed at that period the view entertained of the hapless negro by members of the dominant race fully justified the statement of Chief Justice Taney in his oft-quoted opinion in the Dred Scott case, that at that period the negro was considered "as a person who had no rights which a white man was bound to respect."

The number of negroes, slave and free, in the United States, as shown by the census of 1790, was 757,208, contrasted with the white population of 3,172,006; the negroes forming approximately nineteen per cent. of the population.

With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War a marked change of attitude towards the negro in the Northern colonies may be detected. The first patriotic blood to moisten the streets of Boston was that of Crispus Attucks, the runaway negro slave, who on March 5, 1770, led the attack of the patriotic rioters upon the English soldiery and with other Massachusetts men went down to deathless fame, the first martyrs of the Revolution.

And this was but the beginning. Throughout the coun-

try, North and South, the negro volunteered his services for the war, and joined, both in separate companies and in conjunction with the most gallant white spirits of the time, in performing courageous services in the cause of freedom. His valor and ability were displayed on many of the historical fields of the war for independence, where under the leadership of white officers he proved himself, as on other and later fields, a valiant and efficient soldier. In Varnum's brigade of Sullivan's army operating against Newport there was a regiment of New England negroes, and in the battle of Rhode Island, "None behaved better," it has been said, "than the raw troops of Greene's colored regiment, who three times repulsed the furious charges of veteran Hessians."

As at other times, during this stress and trial of the Revolutionary struggle great inducements were offered him to enter into the military organization, and in many instances his manumission followed his enlistment; yet, incredible as it seems, were the fact not borne out by the records, in many cases at the close of the war the negro who had borne himself thus heroically in the forefront of the conflict and whose efforts had been crowned with successful achievement, was relegated to his former state of slavery, falling from the proud position of a conquering soldier to a being whose right to life, family, or property was held dependent on the caprice of his Caucasian possessor.

And yet, words had been spoken, results had been accomplished, relations had been established, which forever changed the view of some thoughtful men as to the relation which the negro race should thereafter bear to the rest of the American people. No contemplative mind could fail to appreciate the glaring inconsistency between the position of a race of slaves and the theory of a government whose corner-stone was based upon the equality of mankind, and of which the proudest claim of distinction was a document embodying

the declaration that all men were alike endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these rights were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It, therefore, soon became manifest to the discerning minds of the time that in a land dedicated to freedom, equality, and opportunity, the existence of a negro race doomed to perpetual slavery was a monstrous anachronism.

Some faint conception of this idea appears to have penetrated the minds of even those unthinking blacks of post-revolutionary days, and from time to time their petitions were presented to Congress and to the colonial governments calling attention to their unfortunate condition, as well as to the glaring inconsistency of proclaiming in one breath freedom and opportunity to all men and denying these inestimable privileges to the petitioners. But the profitable development of slavery in the Southern colonies and the financial interests of all sections made it necessary carefully to safeguard the continued existence of that institution, and the complaints of the African were steadily ignored. Yet a reading of the discussions of the negro question at the time of the formation of the Constitution discloses the working of the Northern mind upon the subject, and the first marked indication of the modern elevation of thought which has brought about the emancipation of the negro race, and which in time will bring about the solution of the negro problem, is to be found in the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 by the Continental Congress. This is certainly the primitive landmark of the coming freedom of the race.

It came about in this wise: As a result of the Revolutionary War, the colonies then constituting but the merest territorial fringe upon the Atlantic coast found themselves charged with the responsibility of regulating and governing that vast tract of country which stretched westward from their borders between

Efforts to
Restrict
Slavery.

the Great Lakes and the Gulf. Conflicting claims existed among the states as to this territory, but eventually patriotism prevailed, and all appear to have been willing to concede to the central government the general supervision and control of this valuable national asset. Accordingly, in the year 1784, the duty of framing an ordinance for the government of this great Western territory was referred to a select committee of the Continental Congress, consisting of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Samuel Chase of Maryland, and David Howell of Rhode Island. The plan reported by this committee contemplated the general organization into states of all the territory comprised as above stated.

But the interesting point to be noted here is the provision inserted by the hand of Thomas Jefferson, as follows:

But after the year one thousand eight hundred of the Christian Era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to be guilty.

This attempt to secure the adoption of a plain principle of freedom in the undeveloped regions of the Northwest marks the initial effort of enlightened statesmanship to direct the steps of the coming nation into the path so long and so painfully trod by our country leading toward the emancipation, education, uplifting, and final establishment of the African race. For the time and as a whole this provision was rejected, but in 1787 the last Continental Congress framed an ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory, embracing that section of the above-mentioned tract northwest of the Ohio River, which measure contained the great provision permanently establishing the principle of freedom in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. For by this ordinance it was

enacted that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude otherwise than for the punishment of crime should ever exist in this territory so consecrated to be the home of freemen. However, from the Ohio to the Gulf the territory was left open to the exploitation of the enslaved negro.

In this same year the Constitutional Convention was in session, and the existence of the negro in a condition of slavery presented an apparently insuperable obstacle to the formation of a better and more perfect union. It is manifest from an examination of the debates and discussions of that renowned body that there existed upon the part of many of the delegates a desire then and there to free the country from the taint of human slavery and to make the generalities of the Declaration of Independence the expression of living truth.

Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, one of the strong minds of the Convention, is on record as having stated that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States and that the good sense of the several states would probably by degrees bring it to completion. His colleague, Oliver Ellsworth, expressed himself to the effect that slavery in time would not be a speck upon the country, and generally an optimistic spirit seems to have animated the conduct of our forefathers in their dealings with this momentous and perilous question.

But the subject was one of the gravest difficulty, the obstacles were too great to be surmounted, and the Constitution itself bears intrinsic evidence of the compromises necessitated by the existence of the negro race. Neither the ugly word "negro" nor the still uglier word "slavery" appears in the instrument. The negroes are uniformly referred to as "persons"; slavery is softened into "service" or "labor"; the hideous slave-trade is toned down into "importation of persons"; and so far as the choice of language

could effect the purpose, the existence of the plague-spot in our political structure was carefully concealed.

As the result of the discussion by the delegates, three important provisions bearing upon the negro question were incorporated in the Constitution:

FIRST:—Article I., Section II.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

This section marks the outcome of the great contest in the Convention over the question as to whether negroes, not being citizens, should be included as a basis for representation in the Congress and in the Electoral College. The manifest unfairness of allowing an enslaved and non-voting negro to count in the representation as the equivalent of a free white man was not overlooked in the Convention, but the necessity for compromise prevailed, and the clause giving to the Southern states a disproportionate weight in the councils of the nation was inserted as a fundamental requirement of the formation of the Constitution, one without which its adoption by the necessary number of states could never have been secured.

SECOND:—Article I., Section IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

This, too, was the result of the spirit of compromise, and was the second step in the restriction of the growth of the negro race in the country. The abhorrent character of the slave-trade was recognized by all, but as a measure of compromise, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were able to exact the extension of this nefarious traffic for the ensuing twenty years.

THIRD:—Article IV., Section II.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

The adoption of this clause was a necessity to the slaveholders of the Southern States to enable them to reclaim their unstable property in case of escape, and thus at the very outset of our national life the foundation of "The Fugitive Slave Law," later to become a source of bitter contention between North and South, was laid in our organic law.

Now we can see from this brief recital in what fortuitous manner our forefathers effected what they doubtless con-

sidered to be a permanent adjustment of the **Compro-
mises with
Slavery.** status of the negro under the Constitution. In-

deed for a time their efforts appeared to have been successful, for with the other pregnant questions springing out of the organization of the new government, the trials and difficulties incident to the establishment of the machinery of administration, the second struggle for independence of 1812, in which negroes again displayed their ability at New Orleans and upon other battle-fields, it was upward of thirty years before this seemingly never-to-be-settled question suddenly again became acute, present-

ing new elements of vexation and danger to our national existence.

The first manifestation of the coming strife occurred in 1820, when, it having become manifest that the preponderance of wealth and population was gradually establishing itself in the North and Northwest, it was clear that unless some arbitrary measures could be adopted, the states in which negro slavery existed would soon find themselves overbalanced in numbers and in political power by the free states of the North. The spirit of restriction of the area of slavery was abroad, and when in the last-mentioned year the state of Missouri sought admission as a member of the Union, her Constitution, which provided for the enslavement of the negro race, grated harshly upon the awakening sympathy of the North, and the struggle to circumscribe the area of slavery, which began with the adoption of the Northwestern Ordinance, may be said to have been resumed with renewed vigor. State after state had been admitted in balanced order, one of the North accompanying one of the South, but as a measure of compromise upon the admission of Missouri the line of latitude thirty-six-thirty was established, running from the western boundary of that state to the Pacific, north of which no state permitting slavery was to be admitted, by which exclusion it was confidently expected that in the great territory of the Northwest the negro was to enjoy the fullest measure of constitutional freedom.

And again, by this measure it was hoped that the negro problem was on its way to final solution. This famous Missouri Compromise did, indeed, for the time appear to have effected a permanent adjustment of the negro question in all the territory acquired from France by the Louisiana Purchase lying north of the above-mentioned parallel of latitude, but as year after year rolled around the necessity for new slave territory for the South grew more urgent, and

in commensurate degree, stronger and stronger mounted the aroused sentiment of the North demanding enactments forbidding the extension of negro slavery.

We, therefore, find late in the fifth decade of the century, Southern statesmen, then discovering that the issue was ultimately to be decided against them, vainly seeking to remove all restrictions so that the negro might be introduced as a slave in all the Western and Pacific territories.

Finally, with the futile compromise measure of 1850, followed by the repeal of the wise and patriotic Missouri Compromise (May 25, 1854), we mark the close of the struggle against the extension of negro slavery and the beginning of the graver agitation of the question as to the abolition of the institution itself. We say the beginning because though for more than thirty years prior to this time there had been in existence an earnest, conscientious movement directed to that end, the advocates of the abolishment of slavery were considered rather as impracticable fanatics, disturbers of the public peace, irresponsible and seditious individuals than as practical workers in national politics. They had brought about, however, a growing appreciation of the fact that the existence of slavery was inconsistent with the continuance of our national life; that in the words of Lincoln, the nation could not endure half slave and half free. They had compelled the nation to understand that the negro was indeed a man and not a mere chattel, and as this more accurate perception of the situation little by little gained coherent form, it led by natural processes through political strife to the gigantic conflict of arms by which slavery was extinguished and another phase of the negro problem revealed.

The printing-press of Garrison, the verse of Whittier, the pulpit of Beecher, the oratory of Phillips, Sumner, and Seward had so aroused the national conscience that the doom of slavery was assured. More potent, perhaps, than any of

these was the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, that marvellous work of fiction which by its exaggerated descriptions of Southern plantation life brought home to the sympathies of the men and women of the North the hideous possibilities of wrong existing under the miserable system of human slavery.

The Civil War came on; in form, a struggle springing from conflicting constructions of the Constitution, in substance, a fratricidal war brought about by the presence of the negro race.

The records of our military operations show that nearly two hundred thousand negroes were enlisted in the Federal army, that under white leadership they fought valiantly and accomplished important results, and that in so far as their meagre opportunities allowed they fairly may be said to have rendered valuable assistance in winning their freedom.

This freedom came to them by degrees. In 1862, by the great war measure of emancipation, the work was begun.

After the Federal arms had triumphed and the South was in helpless ruin, in 1865, the thirteenth amendment of the Constitution imbedded into the foundation law of our country the never-to-be-challenged fact that slavery was forever abolished, and the negro stood as in this land he had never stood before, free from his shackles, free to go or come, his opportunities before him, his responsibility all his own.

At bottom, slavery was but a passing phase of the negro problem, a mere *modus vivendi* affording a possibility of harmonious relations between two races of radically dissimilar characteristics in occupancy of the same territory. With its extinction, while the moral atmosphere appeared for a time clearer, the momentous character of the race question as such was more plainly revealed. The Civil War abolished slavery and disclosed the magnitude of the negro problem.

With the close of the conflict the real difficulty began. At the termination of the war the situation admitted of no adequate solution. Different opinions were entertained as to the capacity of the negro to participate in government. On the one hand, it was thought that by entrusting him with the ballot he would rapidly advance and display his capacity for participation in political affairs. Those who cherished this hope were able to place the ballot in his untutored hands, but they reckoned without proper consideration. There were others who thought that he would immediately fall back into a more abject and hopeless condition than even that of slavery; that, lacking the first elements of progress, as soon as he was freed from the supervision of the governing race and left to his own responsibility he would retrograde to barbarism. This view, likewise, is now seen to have been too extreme. Between the two points of view the truth now appears to have lain; the negro has advanced in the path of progress, but far less rapidly and spontaneously than was hoped and expected by his well-wishers.

Upheld by the armed force of the Federal government, the negroes of the Southern States exercised for some years the suffrage, participated in legislative work, and in some states, generally with lamentable results, were able to control the legislative and executive departments. In national affairs, likewise, the negro began to entertain hopes of advancement. Two Senators and thirteen Representatives in the lower House represented within a few years the aspiration of the race for membership in the Halls of Congress.

But the attempt at government by the negro race was a wretched failure, and the history of this failure of reconstruction is familiar to the student of our modern political history. We know what calamitous results were brought about by the effort to entrust to ignorant negroes, fresh from the slavery of the plantation, the delicate and im-

portant duties of legislation. It was impossible for the white man of the South to submit to the control of his former negro slaves, and so after a struggle of force and subterfuge which reflects no credit upon either party thereto, by a conflict ending in 1877 the few remaining vestiges of negro rule were swept away, and since that time, by one means or another (later herein to be described), the negro has practically been deprived of all participation in the governmental affairs of the Southern States.

He has, however, progressed in business, improved in his religious condition, made great gains in the direction of education, and in a thousand different ways his advancement has been a cause for encouragement to the well-wishers of the race. From time to time large numbers of the race have sought to emigrate to more favored northern or western sections, and at one time to Mexico; but little has come of these abortive attempts at change of locality. With freedom has come the possibility of migration and opportunity for contact with other sections of the country. With this development has come an awakening of intellect, with the awakening of intellect has come aspiration, following aspiration there has succeeded in the main discouragement and despondency.

In summing up this brief review of the history of the negro problem in this country, it may naturally be divided **Historical Summary.** into four periods, marked by clearly defined outlines:

FIRST,—the period of colonial indifference and unrestrained importation, ending with the prohibition of the slave-trade by the Constitutional provision taking effect in 1808.

SECOND,—the period of strenuous endeavor on the part of the free states to limit the area of slavery, and on the part of the slave states for its extension, beginning with the Northwestern Ordinance of 1787 and terminating with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

THIRD,—the period of struggle for human freedom, beginning with the abolition movement, and leading by incessant agitation and appeals to the moral purpose of the nation to the Civil War and the adoption of the war amendments conferring on the negro, in form at least, the fullest rights and privileges of American citizenship.

FOURTH,—1865-1909—the period of trial and test—forty-four years of nominal freedom and liberty, forty-four years of assistance and encouragement from the North, forty-four years of struggle against overwhelming disadvantages of repression at the South, forty-four years displaying some progress but containing much disappointment and no end yet in sight; the solution of the problem apparently as remote as when the framers of the Constitution in their spirit of optimism essayed to effect, and assumed that they had effected, its permanent adjustment.

A fundamental and ever-to-be-regretted mistake was made at the close of the Civil War in the adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, conferring upon the negro citizenship and the delusive promise of equal rights, together with the futile effort to invest him with the franchise.

In theory, the negroes should have been continued in their subordinate position and regarded as alien wards of the government until by education and experience they might have fitted themselves for establishment as a separate people in some appropriate locality. Unfortunately, this plan did not commend itself to the radical statesmen of that period, and under the constraining power of Stevens and Sumner the nation chose the worsor part, and by conferring upon the unqualified blacks unearned citizenship aroused hopes and held out prospects never to be realized.

Happily it is not yet too late to correct this initial error and to retrace our steps to the point where they diverged

from the path of wisdom, safety, and honor. The forty years which have elapsed since the adoption of this ill-advised policy of reconstruction have been a period of trial and schooling for the negro and of enlightening experience and thorough reflection for those charged with the control of the destinies of the nation.

Better than ever can we now approach the discussion of the problem. We have a clearer conception of the character of the questions involved, and there exists a less narrow and prejudiced feeling between the sections of the country so gravely concerned in the solution.

CHAPTER III

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.

BEFORE entering upon the performance of the task of attempting to propose an efficacious solution of the negro problem, it is the part of wisdom carefully to examine the dimensions of the subject under discussion, in order that it may be determined whether our abilities and resources are adequate to the accomplishment of what we are about to undertake. To that end, therefore, before further considering the negro problem, let us pause for a moment to survey it in all its portentous dimensions.

In discussing this aspect of the question, and generally throughout the work where not otherwise specified, the figures regarding population are taken from the United States census of 1900, and the statistics in relation to political conditions principally from the *New York Tribune Almanac* of recent years.

It appears by this census of 1900 that the population of the continental United States, comprising the part of the country lying on the continent of North America and south of the Canadian boundary, was 66,809,196 whites and 8,833,994 blacks. Adopting the general percentage of increase shown by former censuses, and taking into consideration the increased immigration for the past two or

three years, the white population of the United States, as above defined, is at the present writing in the neighborhood of seventy-six millions, and the negro population will not vary far from ten million souls. A simple calculation will enable us to ascertain the approximate number of negroes in the United States at the present time.

By the census of 1900 their numbers were ascertained to be, in round numbers, 8,840,000. For the preceding decade the rate of increase had been 18.1 per cent., which closely corresponds with the general rate of increase for the preceding half-century. Adopting these figures as a basis, the increase for the next decennial period would be 1,600,000. The census of 1900 was taken in June of that year, and eight years having elapsed, the proportionate increase would be 1,280,000; indicating a present population of 10,120,000. This computation, while of course not scientifically exact, will readily serve as a basis for the discussion of the problem, where extreme accuracy is not at all essential, and hereafter in this work it will be assumed that the negro population is, in round numbers, 10,000,000 persons.

Before proceeding to consider how this alien element is distributed throughout the country, it may be well to take this opportunity to refute the proposition so frequently advanced that there is an immediate prospect of a decrease in the numbers of the African race. Its numbers, as shown by each recurring census since the formation of the Constitution, are as follows:

CENSUS POPULATION

1790.....	757,208	1850.....	3,638,808
1800.....	1,002,037	1860.....	4,441,830
1810.....	1,377,808	1870.....	4,880,009
1820.....	1,771,656	1880.....	6,580,793
1830.....	2,328,642	1890.....	7,488,676
1840.....	2,873,648	1900.....	8,833,994

It will be observed that in general this percentage of increase has been quite uniform, and that during the last decade the rate of increase was quite up to the normal.

There appears to be a law of fertility governing human beings as well as the lower forms of life, which establishes that the birth-rate of a race is somewhat in an inverse ratio to the welfare of the people. Wherever we find conditions of life easy, wealth abundant and luxury abounding, the birth-rate falls until sterility practically ensues; but where the conditions of life are difficult, the hardships incident to poverty to be overcome, oppression and misfortune to be endured, there the germinative force of nature seems to exert itself, and the birth-rate mounts in proportion as these harsh conditions of life prevail. To this compensative law of generation may be ascribed the high birth-rate in the congested centres of great cities, and in some degree the continued fertility of the Jewish, Irish, and other races which have been subjected to harshest conditions of life and yet have continued to display a constant augmentation of numbers.

It is highly probable that under existing conditions the near future will disclose some slight diminution in the rate of increase of the negro race. The tendency to crowd into the cities at present so strongly marked among them is producing an excessive death-rate, mainly due to pulmonary disease (especially consumption and pneumonia), scrofula, venereal diseases, and infant mortality. Complete statistics of deaths throughout the entire country are wanting, but those compiled from the census of 1900, embracing sections containing a population of 27,500,000 whites and 1,180,000 negroes, show a death-rate of 17.9 per thousand for the whites and 31.1 per thousand for the negroes, an excess of 73 per cent. against the negro. But the more wholesome conditions of country life enjoyed by the great mass of the

blacks, together with the better sanitation of cities and the enforcement by the whites in self-defence of health regulations, will tend to continue the growth of the negro population, though perhaps at a lessened rate of increase.

We now take up the question of the distribution of the negro population. It appears by the twelfth census that nearly nine-tenths (89.7%) of the negroes in the United States are found in the Southern States, embracing Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, and hereafter in this discussion wherever the term "Southern States" is employed it will be considered as embracing the foregoing states.

Of this population, from 11 to 16 per cent. are what are termed mulattoes, negroes having some admixture of white blood. In the statutes of several states the negro is defined as a person with one-eighth or more of negro blood, but in the general understanding of the term throughout the United States a person having any trace whatever of negro blood in his veins is classified as a negro.

The district in which the proportion of increase is the greatest lies in the Mississippi alluvial region along both banks of that river, extending from the Tennessee line into Louisiana. In this region five-eighths of the population is of negro blood, the maximum being in Issaquena County, Mississippi, which contains more than fifteen negroes to each white person. There are fifty-five counties and one city in the United States in which at least seventy-five per cent. of the population is negro. And yet, throughout the Southern States, especially in the mountainous regions of Kentucky, North Carolina, West Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee, there are many large areas of territory containing very few of the negro race.

The centre of the negro population is in DeKalb County, northeastern Alabama, about four miles from the western boundary of Georgia and thirty-three miles south of the southern boundary of Tennessee. This centre of negro population has moved since 1790, from a point in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, four hundred and seventy-six miles south-westerly to the above-mentioned point. But the movement of late towards the southwest has been very slow, and the drift of the colored population, while steadily toward the south and west, does not indicate any immediate prospect of considerable change.

The negroes appear to be principally a rural population, as they constitute but one-fifteenth of the city population and about one-sixth of the country population in the United States. This, however, is perhaps more apparent than real, and has no particular significance, as the great bulk of the negro population is found in the South, which is essentially a rural community.

By the census of 1900 the negroes were found to be distributed through the main and minor divisions of the United States in an exceedingly irregular manner. In that tract of territory lying along the South Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and extending inward for three hundred miles, and in the Mississippi Valley below St. Louis, they far outnumber the whites. In New England, however, and in the growing States of the great Northwest the proportion of negroes is insignificant. Less than one per cent. of New England's population is of African blood, and in Minnesota the proportion falls as low as three-tenths of one per cent. The general distribution among the larger census divisions of the country is shown in the following table:

The Negro Problem

TABLE I.

NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, BY DIVISION OF RESIDENCE: 1900.

DIVISION.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. of negro population of continental United States living in specified division: 1900.
Continental United States.....	8,833,994	100.0
North Atlantic division.....	385,020	4.4
New England.....	59,099	0.7
Southern North Atlantic.....	325,921	3.7
South Atlantic division.....	3,729,017	42.2
Northern South Atlantic.....	1,056,684	12.0
Southern South Atlantic.....	2,672,333	30.2
North Central division.....	495,751	5.6
Eastern North Central.....	257,842	2.9
Western North Central.....	237,909	2.7
South Central division.....	4,193,952	47.5
Eastern South Central.....	2,499,886	28.3
Western South Central.....	1,694,066	19.2
Western division.....	30,254	0.3
Rocky Mountain.....	12,936	0.1
Basin and Plateau.....	2,654	(1)
Pacific.....	14,664	0.2

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

It appears from the foregoing table that the great preponderance of the race (7,922,969) is found in the Southern States, the New England and Western States being especially

free from members of the negro race. In fact, in that vast extent of the country designated in the census reports as the North Atlantic and North Central divisions, and extending from Maine to Montana, embracing all territory north of Maryland and the Ohio River, the proportion of negroes to whites is less than two per cent., and except in the larger cities the problem in that section is by no means acute.

The following table shows the general distribution of the negro population by states:

TABLE II.

NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, BY STATE OR TERRITORY OF RESIDENCE: 1900.

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING NUMBER OF NEGROES.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. of negro population of continental United States living in specified state or territory: 1900.
Continental United States.....	8,833,994	100.0
Georgia.....	1,034,813	11.7
Mississippi.....	907,630	10.3
Alabama.....	827,307	9.4
South Carolina.....	782,321	8.9
Virginia.....	660,722	7.5
Louisiana.....	650,804	7.4
North Carolina.....	624,469	7.1
Texas.....	620,722	7.0
Tennessee.....	480,243	5.4
Arkansas.....	366,856	4.2
Kentucky.....	284,706	3.2
Maryland.....	235,064	2.7
Florida.....	230,730	2.6
Missouri.....	161,234	1.8
Pennsylvania.....	156,845	1.8
New York.....	99,232	1.1
Ohio.....	96,901	1.1

TABLE II—Continued.

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING NUMBER OF NEGROES.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. of negro population of continental United States living in specified state or territory: 1900.
District of Columbia.....	86,702	1.0
Illinois.....	85,078	1.0
New Jersey.....	69,844	0.8
Indiana.....	57,505	0.6
Kansas.....	52,003	0.6
West Virginia.....	43,499	0.5
Indian Territory.....	36,853	0.4
Massachusetts.....	31,974	0.4
Delaware.....	30,697	0.3
Oklahoma.....	18,831	0.2
Michigan.....	15,816	0.2
Connecticut.....	15,226	0.2
Iowa.....	12,693	0.1
California.....	11,045	0.1
Rhode Island.....	9,092	0.1
Colorado.....	8,570	0.1
Nebraska.....	6,269	0.1
Minnesota.....	4,959	0.1
Wisconsin.....	2,542	(1)
Washington.....	2,514	(1)
Arizona.....	1,848	(1)
New Mexico.....	1,610	(1)
Montana.....	1,523	(1)
Maine.....	1,319	(1)
Oregon.....	1,105	(1)
Wyoming.....	940	(1)
Vermont.....	826	(1)
Utah.....	672	(1)
New Hampshire.....	662	(1)
South Dakota.....	465	(1)
Idaho.....	293	(1)
North Dakota.....	286	(1)
Nevada.....	134	(1)

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In order that it may clearly appear where the negro population most centres, the following table indicates the general distribution of the people of that race among the various states composing the country:

TABLE III.

NEGRO POPULATION, AND PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION:
1900.

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. negro in total population: 1900.
Mississippi.....	907,630	58.5
South Carolina.....	782,321	58.4
Louisiana.....	650,804	47.1
Georgia.....	1,034,813	46.7
Alabama.....	827,307	45.2
Florida.....	230,730	43.7
Virginia.....	660,722	35.6
North Carolina.....	624,469	33.0
District of Columbia.....	86,702	31.1
Arkansas.....	366,856	28.0
Tennessee.....	480,243	23.8
Texas.....	620,722	20.4
Maryland.....	235,064	19.8
Delaware.....	30,697	16.6
Kentucky.....	284,706	13.3
Indian Territory.....	36,853	9.4
Missouri.....	161,234	5.2
Oklahoma.....	18,831	4.7
West Virginia.....	43,499	4.5
New Jersey.....	69,844	3.7
Kansas.....	52,003	3.5
Pennsylvania.....	156,845	2.5
Indiana.....	57,505	2.3
Ohio.....	96,901	2.3
Rhode Island.....	9,092	2.1
Illinois.....	85,078	1.8
Connecticut.....	15,226	1.7
Colorado.....	8,570	1.6
Arizona.....	1,848	1.5
New York.....	99,232	1.4
Massachusetts.....	31,974	1.1
Wyoming.....	940	1.0
New Mexico.....	1,610	0.8
California.....	11,045	0.7
Michigan.....	15,816	0.7
Iowa.....	12,693	0.6
Montana.....	1,523	0.6
Nebraska.....	6,269	0.6
Washington.....	2,514	0.5
Minnesota.....	4,959	0.3
Nevada.....	134	0.3

TABLE III—Continued.

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. negro in total population: 1900.
Oregon.....	1,105	0.3
Idaho.....	293	0.2
Maine.....	1,319	0.2
New Hampshire.....	662	0.2
Utah.....	672	0.2
Vermont.....	826	0.2
North Dakota.....	286	0.1
South Dakota.....	465	0.1
Wisconsin.....	2,542	0.1

The fifty-five counties in the United States in which at least three-fourths of the population are negroes, arranged in order of decreasing proportion of negroes, are as follows:

TABLE IV.

PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR THE 55 COUNTIES HAVING AT LEAST 75 PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION: 1900.

COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. negro in total population: 1900	COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. negro in total population: 1900.
Issaquena, Miss.....	94.0	Leon, Fla.....	80.4
Tensas, La.....	93.5	Wilcox, Ala.....	80.4
Madison, La.....	92.7	Madison, Miss.....	79.8
East Carroll, La.....	91.6	Wilkinson, Miss.....	79.6
Beaufort, S. C.....	90.5	Berkeley, S. C.....	78.7
Tunica, Miss.....	90.5	Adams, Miss.....	78.6
Washington, Miss.....	89.7	Phillips, Ark.....	78.6
Coahoma, Miss.....	88.2	Perry, Ala.....	78.5
Leflore, Miss.....	88.2	Bossier, La.....	78.2
Bolivar, Miss.....	88.1	Russell, Ala.....	78.1
Sharkey, Miss.....	88.1	Claiborne, Miss.....	78.0
Concordia, La.....	87.4	Holmes, Miss.....	77.9
Chicot, Ark.....	87.1	Jefferson, Fla.....	77.9
Lowndes, Ala.....	86.6	Lee, Ark.....	77.8
Greene, Ala.....	86.3	McIntosh, Ga.....	77.7

TABLE IV—Continued.

COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. negro in total population:1900	COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. negro in total population:1900
West Feliciana, La.....	86.2	West Baton Rouge, La.....	77.1
Lee, Ga.....	85.4	Yazoo, Miss.....	77.1
Noxubee, Miss.....	84.8	Marengo, Ala.....	76.9
Crittenden, Ark.....	84.6	Quitman, Miss.....	76.9
Dallas, Ala.....	83.0	Georgetown, S. C.....	76.6
Sumter, Ala.....	82.7	Morehouse, La.....	76.5
Dougherty, Ga.....	82.1	Warwick, Va.....	76.3
Bullock, Ala.....	81.7	Fairfield, S. C.....	76.0
Burke, Ga.....	81.7	Lowndes, Miss.....	75.5
Desha, Ark.....	81.7	Hinds, Miss.....	75.2
Hale, Ala.....	81.7	Houston, Ga.....	75.1
Macon, Ala.....	81.6	Sunflower, Miss.....	75.0
Jefferson, Miss.....	81.1		

It will be noted that all of the foregoing counties are situated in the lower South except the one in Virginia, which is situated near the mouth of the York River.

There are thirty-two cities in the United States each of which had more than ten thousand negroes in 1900. Ranged in order of their negro population they are as follows:

TABLE V.

NEGRO POPULATION, FOR CITIES HAVING AT LEAST 10,000 NEGROES: 1900.

CITY.	Negro population:1900	CITY.	Negro population:1900
32 cities.....	946,956	Augusta, Ga.....	18,487
Washington, D. C.....	86,702	Kansas City, Mo.....	17,567
Baltimore, Md.....	79,258	Montgomery, Ala.....	17,229
New Orleans, La.....	77,714	Mobile, Ala.....	17,045
Philadelphia, Pa.....	62,613	Pittsburg, Pa.....	17,040
New York, N. Y.....	60,666	Birmingham, Ala.....	16,575
		Jacksonville, Fla.....	16,236

TABLE V—*Continued.*

CITY.	Negro population:1900	CITY.	Negro population:1900
Memphis, Tenn.....	49,910	Indianapolis, Ind.....	15,931
Louisville, Ky.....	39,139	Little Rock, Ark.....	14,694
Atlanta, Ga.....	35,727	Houston, Tex.....	14,608
St. Louis, Mo.....	35,516	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	14,482
Richmond, Va.....	32,230	Chattanooga, Tenn....	13,122
Charleston, S. C.....	31,522	Boston, Mass.....	11,591
Chicago, Ill.....	30,150	Macon, Ga.....	11,550
Nashville, Tenn.....	30,044	Petersburg, Va.....	10,751
Savannah, Ga.....	28,090	Wilmington, N. C.....	10,407
Norfolk, Va.....	20,230	Lexington, Ky.....	10,130

Even in the communities in which the cities are situated in the South, there are fewer negroes relatively to be found in city life than in country districts. This difference is undoubtedly due to the fact that a city is more highly organized industrially than an agricultural district, and in the city a greater number of occupations is represented and higher degrees of knowledge, skill, and organizing power are required in the population. As the negroes have not yet secured a standing upon a level with the whites in these higher vocations, no city, large or small, is inhabited by negroes so exclusively as many country districts. The difference is akin to that between the relatively simple agriculture in the South, especially where negroes are most numerous, and the more complex and diversified farming of the North, which demands a higher degree of intelligence for successful operation.

The following table exhibits the percentage of increase in the negro population during the past 110 years:

TABLE VI.

NEGRO POPULATION AND NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF INCREASE
BY TEN-YEAR PERIODS: 1790 TO 1900.

CENSUS.	Negro population.	Increase of negro population during preceding ten years.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Continental U. S.:			
1900.....	8,833,994	1,345,318	18.0
1890.....	7,470,040	880,247	13.5
1880.....	6,580,793	1,700,784	31.9
1870.....	4,880,009	438,179	9.9
1860.....	4,441,830	803,022	22.1
1850.....	3,638,808	765,160	26.6
1840.....	2,873,648	545,006	23.4
1830.....	2,328,642	556,986	31.4
1820.....	1,771,656	393,848	28.6
1810.....	1,377,808	375,771	37.5
1800.....	1,002,037	244,829	32.3
1790.....	757,208

It is generally conceded that the census of 1870 was very inaccurate in relation to the number of the negro population. An investigation made shortly after it was completed showed beyond question that serious mistakes were made in this regard, as the negro population was returned at much less than its real numbers. Taking this into consideration, it will be seen that the percentage of increase has been fairly uniform for the past 110 years; and, as before noted in the general discussion of the number of this population, there is nothing in the census returns which indicates any probability of much falling away of this increase in the immediate future.

The negro population is an exceedingly illiterate one, the census of 1900 establishing the fact that among the negroes

The Negro Problem

of ten years of age and upward, 44.5 per cent. were so illiterate as to be unable either to read or write. The states are arranged in the order of decreasing per cent. of negro illiteracy in 1900, and the decrease in per cent. of the illiterates during the ten years is shown in the last column:

TABLE VII.

PER CENT. ILLITERATE IN NEGRO POPULATION AT LEAST 10 YEARS OF AGE: 1900 AND 1890.

STATE OR TERRITORY HAVING AT LEAST 500 NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1900.	Per cent. illiterate in negro popula- tion at least 10 years of age.		Decrease in per cent. illit- erate: 1890 to 1900.
	1900	1890	
Louisiana.....	61.1	72.1	11.0
Alabama.....	57.4	69.1	11.7
South Carolina.....	52.8	64.1	11.3
Georgia.....	52.4	67.3	14.9
Mississippi.....	49.1	60.8	11.7
North Carolina.....	47.6	60.1	12.5
Virginia.....	44.6	57.2	12.6
Arkansas.....	43.0	53.6	10.6
Indian Territory.....	42.8
Tennessee.....	41.6	54.2	12.6
Kentucky.....	40.1	55.9	15.8
Florida.....	38.4	50.5	12.1
Texas.....	38.2	52.5	14.3
Delaware.....	38.1	49.5	11.4
Maryland.....	35.1	50.1	15.0
West Virginia.....	32.3	44.5	12.2
Missouri.....	28.1	41.7	13.6
Oklahoma.....	26.0	39.0	13.0
District of Columbia.....	24.3	35.0	10.7
Indiana.....	22.6	32.3	9.7
Kansas.....	22.3	32.8	10.5
New Mexico.....	19.1	45.8	26.7
Iowa.....	18.5	26.1	7.6
Illinois.....	18.1	26.8	8.7
Ohio.....	17.8	25.4	7.6
New Jersey.....	17.2	28.1	10.9
Wyoming.....	17.2	17.8	0.6
Pennsylvania.....	15.1	23.2	8.1

TABLE VII—Continued.

STATE OR TERRITORY HAVING AT LEAST 500 NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1900.	Per cent. illiterate in negro popu- lation at least 10 years of age.		Decrease in per cent. illit- erate: 1890 to 1900.
	1900	1890	
Vermont.....	14.6	20.4	5.8
Maine.....	14.2	15.9	1.7
Rhode Island.....	14.1	18.1	4.0
California.....	13.4	26.5	13.1
Colorado.....	13.0	17.6	4.6
Arizona.....	12.7	19.2	6.5
New Hampshire.....	11.9	22.5	10.6
Nebraska.....	11.8	19.1	7.3
Washington.....	11.6	17.7	6.1
Connecticut.....	11.5	15.3	3.8
Montana.....	11.4	11.0	(1) 0.4
Wisconsin.....	11.4	20.0	8.6
Michigan.....	10.9	18.9	8.0
New York.....	10.8	17.1	6.3
Massachusetts.....	10.7	14.3	3.6
Oregon.....	8.8	17.1	8.3
Minnesota.....	7.9	12.1	4.2
Utah.....	6.3	26.6	20.3

¹ Increase.

This table exhibits one of the most appalling difficulties incident to bringing about any solution of the negro problem. Here we have nearly one-half of the members of the race concerned absolutely unable to read and write. From this fact we may readily infer something of the condition of the residue who are living in this mass of illiteracy and who have but recently emerged from a similar condition. The simple test of reading and writing is but a meagre thing, and the probabilities are that at least 75 per cent. of the race are intellectually in what might be designated as an illiterate, uneducated condition.

It is true, as it appears from the foregoing table, that some considerable progress in education is being made, and that

the negro is slowly acquiring ability to read and write. But after full and due weight is given to this element of improvement, the situation presents such a degree of ignorance and incapacity that the prospect of any speedy improvement is far from encouraging.

The census returns exhibit a disheartening condition of family life among the negroes. Of course, it is very difficult to obtain accurate statistics upon this subject, but from those presented it is quite apparent that in manner of life, general morality, and observance of the obligations of the marital state, the negro, both North and South, is greatly lacking. Without going into details upon this subject, we may say that the condition of immorality in life presented by this people is one which adds to the difficulty of any adequate solution of the problem.

The consideration of the social condition of the people of this race is not particularly conducive toward leading to a hopeful view of the evil. This will be considered more in detail in the ensuing chapter upon the condition of the negro race, but is introduced here for the purpose of drawing attention to the fact that the statistics show that, while in a general way a large portion of the race is engaged in industrial pursuits, the employment of the labor of women, and especially of children, is much greater than in any other class of our population. Child labor appears to be the rule, and owing to the absence of any adequate accommodation for schooling, is probably greater than would otherwise be the case.

The census shows that of the male negro children between ten and fifteen years, 49.3 per cent. are engaged in gainful occupations, and of the female population between the same ages, 30.6 per cent. are likewise employed. The bare statistics show the extent of this evil. Probably as most of these children are employed in farming, the evil is not

so great as might otherwise appear, but even with this concession its proportions are somewhat appalling.

As the negro is principally engaged in agricultural pursuits, the statistics of his employment in this relation are of great interest, and the following, taken principally from the report of the twelfth census, are important in this connection:

There were in the United States in 1900, 746,715 farms operated by negroes, of which 716,512 were improved by General buildings. These farms contained 38,233,933 acres, or 59,741 square miles, an area about equal to that of the state of Georgia or that of New England; 23,362,798 acres, or 61 per cent. of the total area, was improved for farming purposes. The total value of property on these farms was \$499,943,734, of which \$324,244,397 represented the value of land and improvements, \$71,903,315 that of buildings, \$18,859,757 that of implements and machinery, and \$84,936,265 that of live stock. The gross value of all products on farms of negroes in 1899 was \$255,751,145. Of this sum, however, \$25,843,443 represents products fed to live stock, the value of which reappears and is to that extent duplicated in the reported value of animal products such as meat, milk, butter, eggs, and poultry; subtracting this amount we have a net value of \$229,907,702, or 46 per cent. of the total value of farm property, in farms cultivated by negroes. This sum represents the gross farm income. The total expenditure for labor on farms of negroes in 1899 was \$8,789,792, and the expenditure for fertilizers was \$5,614,844.

Very few of the negroes in the North are engaged in farming, their occupations being generally those of menial character in the cities and larger towns. From the census reports the condition of the negro farmer in the South is that of a man of a low order of intelligence wringing a scanty existence from a naturally fertile soil. The system of agriculture in

vogue is exceedingly simple, requiring no very high degree of intelligence. The greater proportion of farmers among negroes are those who operate farms as tenants or as sharing profits with the owners. Of the 746,715 farms of negroes in the United States in 1900, 187,797, or a little upwards of 25 per cent. of the total, were owned, in title at least, by negroes; the central figure in the Southern farm life of the negro race being the tenant class, over half a million of black men occupying their farms on various terms, a large proportion of whom stand about midway between serfdom and quasi-ownership.

Cotton is the chief crop of the small negro farmer, but rice is largely cultivated in South Carolina, sugar in Louisiana, and tobacco in the more northern states, these appearing to be the only crops which the negro has displayed sufficient ability to cultivate.

As to the value of the farms thus owned by negroes in the South (because in the North the negro farmer is practically unknown), estimates may well differ. Professor Du Bois, in his discussion of the subject, says that the total value of the farm property held by negro farmers June 1, 1900, was approximately two hundred million dollars, or a little less than three hundred dollars for each negro farm. After some discussion of the question of property owned by negroes and rented out to other negroes or whites, and other minor considerations, he arrives at the conclusion that the total value of the property owned by negro farmers in the United States at that time would be two hundred and thirty million dollars. He further discusses, in figures too extended to be quoted here, the probable value of the personal property, consisting of live stock, tools, and other articles, and from his examination, upon the whole, we may conclude that the wealth of the negro race at that time might fairly be estimated at four hundred million dollars.

In his address of November 15, 1907, at the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of Howard University, at Washington, an institution devoted to the higher education of the negro race, President Roosevelt, in his careful review of the progress of the race, calls attention to the fact that "since the Emancipation Proclamation the colored citizens of the United States have accumulated property until now they have, all told, some \$350,000,000 worth of taxable property in this country." This is probably a fairly accurate estimate of the value of the real and personal property under nominal negro ownership.

These estimates, however, do not take into account the mortgages upon the real property nor the debts of the negro owners, and as it is familiar knowledge that in cases of small farmers the mortgage indebtedness is frequently one-half to two-thirds of the value of the property, and the individual indebtedness of the owner something in addition, it is fairly doubtful that, if the exact financial status of the Southern negro could be ascertained, it could be established that he was actually the owner of any considerable property.

In the North, while some individuals have by thrift made considerable accumulations, their holdings form but an inconsiderable part of the wealth of the section. In a general way, in the discussion of the subject, the optimistic negro essayist says that his race has accumulated six hundred millions of property, but it is certainly doubtful if this statement would stand the test of close analysis.

Probably of all the states in the Union the state of Georgia, having the largest negro population, would have the greatest valuation of property owned by negroes, but we find from the report of the Comptroller General of that state for the year 1902 that the assessed value of the negro taxpayers' property was but \$15,188,069, against a valuation of the white taxpayers of \$452,122,577, the negro owning but three

per cent. of the assessed valuation although constituting about forty-seven per cent. of the population.

Assuming, as an outside estimate, the value of property held by the African race in the country to be five hundred million dollars, this would signify an average of fifty dollars per person for the people of that race, subject to deductions for debts and incumbrances.

Now, the Bureau of the Census report recently issued¹ gives the estimated value of the entire property of the United States in the year 1904 as \$107,104,211,917, showing an average of upward of \$1250 for each man, woman, and child. As of this amount negroes own less than half of one per cent., the question of their ownership of property cannot constitute an important factor in the solution of the problem.

The ten states having the largest value in property were:

New York.....	\$14,679,042,207
Pennsylvania.....	11,473,620,306
Illinois.....	8,816,556,191
Ohio.....	5,946,969,466
Massachusetts.....	4,956,578,913
California.....	4,115,491,106
Iowa.....	4,048,516,076
Missouri.....	3,759,597,451
Minnesota	3,343,722,076
Michigan	3,282,419,117

In other words, any one of these wealthy Northern or Eastern states could, with scarcely perceptible effort, purchase the whole property accumulated by the negroes in the United States. Indeed, there are many large corporations in the country the wealth of any one of which exceeds that of the negro race, and some few individuals whose possessions are reputed to be in extent almost equal to the meagre holdings of that dependent people.

¹ Estimated True Value of Property: 1900 and 1904. Department of Commerce and Labor, 1907.

In addition to individual ownership, both North and South, the negro in his corporate capacity has in many instances acquired ownership of school and church property, possibly in all some fifty million dollars, but considering the wealth of the country, its resources and increasing valuations, the negro's holding is inconsiderable. When we regard the vast development of our national wealth, the great railroad systems, manufactories, mines, steamboat lines, municipal corporations, agricultural enterprises, and other commercial developments, it will be readily appreciated that what little proportion of wealth belongs to the negro race offers no great obstacle to any rational plan which may be proposed for the solution of this troublous problem.

With this general survey of the physical dimensions of the problem, we will take up for consideration in the next chapter the present condition of the negro race, with a view of ascertaining the facts which create a necessity for action upon the subject.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE NEGRO RACE

You may set the negro free, but you cannot make him otherwise than an alien to the European. . . . The moderns, then, after they have abolished slavery have three prejudices to contend against, which are less easy to attack and far less easy to conquer than the mere fact of servitude—the prejudice of the master, the prejudice of the race and the prejudice of color.—DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*.

HAVING in the foregoing chapter briefly considered the physical dimensions of the great problem we are seeking to solve, and acquired some comprehension of the physical difficulties of the task arising from the enormous numbers of the negro population, and the extent of the territory affected by their presence, and having further in view the condition of extreme ignorance and poverty in which the great mass of the race are submerged, the next step in orderly procedure will be to ascertain what is the actual condition of the ten millions of that race with whom the problem concerns itself, both as an absolute factor as well as in their relation to the superior race.

Manifestly, to make this a matter of personal investigation would be a task impossible of execution. It is, therefore, necessary to have recourse to such sources of information as may be found in the numerous publications upon the various branches of the subject, and to make a study of the differing views of those in various regions of the country who have given it special attention.

But at this point in the discussion of the problem we are confronted with a grave difficulty. It is a matter of the first importance that the facts concerning the condition of the negro and his progress since emancipation should be the subject of accurate ascertainment. And yet of all things relating to the subject this is found to be the most surprisingly difficult. So much again depends upon the attitude of the observer toward the problem. We are all familiar with the difference in the apparent magnitude of objects as viewed through the opposite ends of an opera-glass, and something of this enlargement or diminution of the progress and prospects of the negro race appears to follow the attitude of the observer toward the doings of this mysterious people.

If we are to accept the statements of the average Southerner as they appear in newspapers, magazines, and books upon the subject, the negro race is in a state of retrogression. It is over and over again alleged that the race is rapidly deteriorating in every relation of life; unthrifty, immoral, unreliable, ignorant, and superstitious; in short, that it is in a state of relapse into the condition of its ancestral surroundings.

On the other hand, if we are to be guided by the averments of some members of the negro race, or the roseate-hued statements of his progress appearing in the publications of negro schools and universities, and are to base our belief upon the emanations of the Southern Educational Conference, we should be compelled to believe that the recent progress of the descendants of former slaves is of almost miraculous character and that the negro displays a marvellous facility for the acquisition of property and adaptation to modern environment, and manifests a desire for education and advancement quite unique and unparalleled in the progress of any other race. Does not President Booker T.

Washington from time to time inform us that in the last fifty years his race has made more progress than any other race in the annals of all history can exhibit during a similar period, and that its acquirement of land during the past forty years exceeds in area the combined territory of Holland and Belgium?

It, therefore, becomes us to observe the utmost caution in the examination of this subject, and to rely more upon census statistics and well ascertained facts than upon the representations of those who are, for one reason or another, interested only in presenting one single aspect of the problem.

Now, the first thing that strikes the mind of the dispassionate observer in the contemplation of the condition of the negro population in the United States, as his eye passes over the whole field of its endeavor and achievement, is that in its present condition and acquirements the negro remains an alien, exotic, and isolated race. Neither in race nor creed, in history, tradition, color, or bent of mind may he establish kinship with the other inhabitants of the country. From whatever view-point he may be regarded, he is a stranger in a strange land. While he is with us, he is not of us, and his existence is as remote from the ordinary thought and sentiment of the white people as though he were physically the inhabitant of foreign territory.

To establish this proposition, the attention of the reader is invited to the standing of the African race in its different relationships with the other elements of the American people.

The political condition of the negro is one of the most important facts to be given consideration in our discussion.

His Political Condition. The essential purpose of American institutions, the very basis of our political organization, the groundwork of our democracy, and the vital principle of our system of government, require the participation of every qualified citizen in governmental affairs,

together with an eligibility to occupy the public offices of the commonwealth, wherein honor and profit follow from service loyally rendered, and exclusion from which operates as a badge of degradation. Let us consider how the negro stands in this relationship.

As our examination of the census returns has established, we have in this country at the present time a population of some eighty-six millions, composed of seventy-six millions of the white race and ten millions of the black. Of this ten millions of blacks, nine million are to be found in what are popularly called the Southern States, the other million being scattered throughout the rest of the country. Upon the simple ratio of population throughout the community, the negro should participate in the honors and emoluments of political life in the proportion of something like one to seven and one-half. Now what are the facts, the cruel, inexorable facts, bearing upon this branch of the subject?

Under the United States Government his participation is insignificant in its character and extent. In the Executive Department none of the higher honors are for him; he holds no Cabinet position, but one superior office in the great departments, scarcely even a minor clerkship outside of the competitive class. In the army and the navy, with the exception of a few subordinate positions, the negro is unknown upon the roster. By law, until recently four regiments of the army were required to be of his race, but how little of glory he has gained from this fact the records of those organizations during the recent past will bear evidence. In the Legislative Department he is absolutely without representation.

For some years following reconstruction, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives the negro was fairly well represented. Two United States Senators and twenty-two Representatives of that race have at different times occupied

seats in Congress. At the present time, while in proportion to population he should have a representation of at least twelve in the Senate and fifty in the House of Representatives, as a matter of fact neither House contains one member of his color. Indeed, it is many years since a representative of the African race has raised his voice in either chamber of the national legislature.

If we turn to the Judicial Department of the government, the result is the same exclusion of the negro. Not a Supreme Court Justice, not a Circuit or District Judge, District Attorney or Marshal is of his color. He is absolutely and utterly without representation upon the Federal bench; and not a minister, ambassador, or representative of any importance to a foreign government is allotted to his race. With very few and unimportant exceptions, no participation in the great administrative departments of our national government is permitted to the negro. The appointment of a member of the negro race to even a minor position is a subject of wide-spread comment.

After long consideration such an appointment to the comparatively unimportant position of Auditor of the Treasury for the Navy Department has recently been made by President Roosevelt. Opposition was developed to any local appointment of the aspirant, and in order to relieve the situation the position mentioned was selected.

Let us follow the subject further. It may be said that by reason of the great minority in which the negro is found it is not to be expected that he should be represented in the general government of the country. If this be the case, we might well look to the local subdivisions of our land to find him exercising some influence in public affairs, but here, in like manner, we look in vain. A survey of the list of officials of the states in the Union discloses the startling fact that not a governor or high state official of any character of negro

blood occupies public office at the present time. And so far as known, not a member of the negro race sits upon the bench of a court of record throughout the expanse of our land.

During the year 1906, an inquiry was conducted as to the participation of the negro in legislative affairs during the prior year in the different states by addressing a communication to the Secretary of State of each of the United States upon the subject, with the result of disclosing the astonishing fact that out of more than 5500 participants in legislative work in the higher and lower houses of the forty-five states of the Union, only five were of the African race; two in Ohio, one in Illinois, one in Georgia, and one in West Virginia forming the representation. Can any feature of the question embody a deeper significance than this complete exclusion of the negro from the law-making power of the country? In his striking letter of July 16, 1778, to the Earl of Carlyle and his associate peace commissioners Samuel Adams forcibly declares the principle upon this point:

I believe that to be bound by laws to which he does not consent by himself, or by his representative, is the direct definition of a slave.

Take the situation as presented in the New England states. The six states comprising that enlightened section contained, by the census of 1900, a trifle short of sixty thousand negroes. The aggregate number of Senators in the state Legislatures was 199, of Representatives in the lower houses 1336, making a total of 1535, without one negro representative in either body in any state. Consider the meaning of this! In the land of Sumner, Whittier, Andrew, Buckingham, Garrison, and Harriet Beecher Stowe,—of this sixty thousand African population not one rises to the dignity of an election to the humblest legislative office.

Turn again to Kansas, with its negro population of fifty-two thousand and its 165 legislators,—again absolute exclusion of the negro race, not one member sitting in either house.

In singular contrast to this marked disfavor visited upon the unfortunate negro is the favor extended by the voters to those in whose veins the blood of the American Indian is to be found. While Kansas cannot find a negro worthy to sit in her state Legislature, she confers the proud distinction of United States Senator upon the Honorable Charles Curtis, whose Kaw Indian blood has proved no impediment to his rapid elevation in the public service.

The constitution of newly admitted Oklahoma contains a provision excluding negroes from white schools, but her junior Senator proudly claims membership in the Cherokee Indian tribe whose removal from Georgia to the Indian Territory was effected two generations ago.

And yet the negro has many votes, and in a number of the Middle States, indeed, holds the balance of power as between the two great political parties. It is currently assumed that the voting members of the race in those states habitually support the one of those parties with which it is historically identified. If this be indeed the truth, in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, to say nothing of Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana, it is quite evident that the black vote might be the determining factor in any fairly close political contest. But it is also generally assumed that this vote is venal. No effort is ordinarily made to attract it, and even where under ordinary political circumstances it might be effectual to determine the result of an election, it appears to be treated as a nearly negligible quantity.

Fuller discussion of the political phase of the negro problem is reserved for subsequent chapters of this work, as in its bearing on the question of suffrage in the South it presents

one of the gravest and most menacing aspects of the subject of our inquiry. But sufficient has been here set before the reader to establish beyond contradiction the fact that politically the negro exerts no influence whatever in the councils of the nation, either Federal or State, and that as to him, government is a matter of imposition and not of participation, taxation without representation being rigorously enforced against him.

Intimately connected with his political situation is the negro's participation in the administration of the law. And while, as we have shown, he has no influence whatever in the framing or in the interpretation of the law by which he is governed, his position as a trier of facts is equally unsatisfactory. There is, indeed, no legal discrimination in the North against him as a juryman, but in the South he is rigidly excluded from the panel, and even where in the North he is called to serve as a juror, his subordinate and menial position deprives him of any possibility of influential action in that capacity.

The negro is likewise excluded from military organizations. In no section of the country is he permitted to associate himself with the white man in the various organizations of military life or to occupy high rank in the service. In a few states negro companies are allowed to exist on sufferance as a result of the Civil War-time enthusiasm for the training of the contraband, but North and South, as a matter of military policy, the negro is deprived of any opportunity for participation in that most important and essential duty of the citizen.

In a former chapter we had occasion to review the educational condition of the negro as revealed by the census statistics. The deplorable condition of illiteracy appearing from the tables referred to is in itself sufficient to render but little comment upon this

His Educational Condition.

point necessary. It is to the infinite credit of the race that since emancipation it has so industriously pursued the upward path leading toward its intellectual regeneration. It is a commonplace discussion to enlarge upon the necessity for thorough education as a primal requisite for American citizenship. The negro at the present time, North and South, lacks this indispensable qualification. Nearly fifty per cent. of the negroes in the Southern States are absolutely illiterate, and the great mass of the remainder have but the most rudimentary qualifications for the exercise of the privileges of citizenship. Among them there is a progressive and growing educated class, which is doing much for the redemption of the other members of the race from their condition of ignorance. But in this herculean task the advanced and progressive negro is handicapped by the want of sufficient means for even primary education, and further by the fact that wherever the members of his race are found in great numbers they are relegated to separate and usually inferior schools where they lack both example and inspiration to aid in their advancement.

It reflects great honor upon the Southern States that so much is being done in the way of providing and maintaining schools for the negro children; yet so vast is this mass of ignorant people, so difficult the task of the teacher, and so limited the financial resources of the states concerned, that generations must pass before the great mass can be brought to even the minimum plane of understanding requisite for American citizenship.

The tendency to provide separate schools for the black and the white children manifests itself wherever the negro is found in considerable numbers. In the District of Columbia, under the direct sanction of Congress, white and negro schools have been separately maintained for many years, and such has been the practice everywhere throughout

the South wherever education is provided for the negro race. Professor Du Bois says that less than one-third of the negro children of the South are at present regularly attending school even for the few months when these meagre facilities are afforded.

Even in Kansas, the historic battle-ground of one of the great romantic struggles for the enfranchisement of the negro race, separate schools for whites and negroes are provided in the cities. In the case of *Berea College vs. Commonwealth*, decided in 1908, the United States Supreme Court has declared that a State law which forbids the joint education of white and black persons in private schools is not violative of the Federal Constitution.

Liberal aid from the North has been given to the movement in favor of the higher education of the Southern negro, and greatly to his credit are the results which have been accomplished by means of this assistance. Hampton Institute and Tuskegee are the pioneers of many institutions for the teaching of the important lessons of industrial and agricultural development, while Fiske University, Howard University, Atlanta University, Leland, Blair, and Wilberforce, maintain a fair standard of advanced scholarship and efficiency, and are all doing excellent work towards the elevation of the race in educational matters.

Slowly, but with hopeful and assured progress, the negro is emerging from his condition of illiteracy, yet this fact alone affords but little aid towards the solution of the pressing problem.

There are those of doubtful mind upon the capacity of the negro to acquire an education and upon his ability to utilize the facilities afforded him for intellectual and moral development. But at this point the writer desires to place upon record his belief that, while the end may be slowly attained, the negro morally, intellectually, and industrially is

turning his steps towards a future which is inspiring in its opportunities and hopeful for him in its every aspect, provided his efforts are rightly directed and the opportunities sought are real and not visionary.

There is here no disposition to understate his educational progress or the value of the example afforded by the thousands of negro graduates of colleges, North and South, who have taken up the work of leading their less favored brothers and sisters in the South towards the goal of intellectual improvement. Considering the disadvantages under which the average negro acquires his college training, and the difficulties which beset his efforts to live among his own people a life which is to approach the ideal demanded by higher scholarship, his achievements in this regard are entitled to the highest commendation.

We are called upon next to consider what is perhaps the most depressing feature of the present condition of the

His Industrial Position. African race, and that is the industrial situation with which the black man is confronted. Here we find him laboring under manifold disadvantages. The multiplied incapacities of generations are not to be redeemed by one brilliant stroke of industrial enterprise. The old industrial system of the South, the primitive farm life, the simple tasks of the field, and the isolated character of the plantation, left the negro at the close of the Civil War without training in the mechanic arts, without a well mastered trade, and without understanding of commercial life. Here, again, it is difficult to secure accurate statistics as to the progress which has been made.

Messages of hope and encouragement come from Hampton, from Tuskegee, and from various other institutions of the South, wherein it is asserted that the negro is acquiring land, adapting himself to improved methods of agriculture,

advancing in the acquisition of money, and generally making himself a more commanding factor in the prosperity of the community. But, on the other hand, the question is raised whether in fact the negro is gaining ground in Southern industries, or even maintaining his position in industrial competition.

There will be found in the December number of the *North American Review* for 1904 a discussion of the negro problem from an economic view-point by Mr. William Garrott Brown, a graduate of Harvard University, lecturer on American history at that institution, and author of the historical work *The Lower South in American History*. Mr. Brown has made a very complete personal study of the Southern States from Virginia to Texas, with a view of ascertaining the exact condition of the negro race economically and in its relation to the industrial system of the section. Space will not here permit an extended discussion of the facts and reasoning contained in this article, to which the reader is referred for further information upon the subject. But as a general result of Mr. Brown's investigations the conclusion is reached by him that, upon the whole, grave doubts exist as to the ability of the negro to maintain his position in industrial and agricultural affairs in the Southern States. His tendency toward idleness and dissipation, his crowding into the towns, his inefficiency in the raising of crops, his general indisposition toward a serious and thorough endeavor to attain proficiency, in any department of endeavor, are all dwelt upon, and the conclusion is reached that if, as indications now appear, there should develop a considerable immigration of foreign white persons to the South, the negro's position in the industries of the section will be seriously threatened.

The implacable hostility of white labor towards negro

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labor has much to do with this menacing condition. Wherever the white man gains possession of an industry, the negro is immediately excluded. This has been the case in the cotton mills of Georgia and the Carolinas. The great economic advantage of having the mills near the source of production of cotton has slowly but surely been removing the cotton industry from New England and transferring it to the South. But in the words of O. M. Sadler, of Charlotte, North Carolina, the Superintendent of the Piedmont Division of the Southern Express, in speaking of the cotton mills of his section,

No negroes work in the cotton factories. They were tried and found wanting. The truth is, the negroes have not the fine touch necessary for the handling of high class machinery.

The abolition of slavery thrust them into the present economic system, and forced them to compete on a common level with the more highly trained white artisan and to fall back in the economic competition if not equally efficient. Whether under that system it will be demonstrated that they are and must for all time remain mere hewers of wood and drawers of water is an interesting question, the answer to which involves the destiny of their race.

Unquestionably, during the last decade in the Southern States the negro has not made the advancement in agricultural and industrial fields which was confidently expected by those entertaining optimistic views of his capacity. Whether or not he will by reason of the instruction and example of the industrial schools now organized and organizing in that section be able to hold his own, or whether or not his hope of even retaining his present industrial position must be abandoned, depends largely upon what might be called his intrinsic qualifications, and is a subject in regard to

which no one can adequately prophesy. His situation in this respect is none too hopeful.

One of the most alarming aspects of the Southern situation is the constantly increasing tendency towards reducing the negro to a condition of peonage. A chapter might be profitably devoted to this view of the subject, did space permit.

From Virginia to Texas various state laws are in force which virtually operate to restrain the negro farm-hand from leaving the farm, or the common laborer under contract from leaving his employment, and enable the employer through a system of fines or imprisonment to control the personal liberty of his employee.

By Section 121 of the Code of Georgia, 1895, it is provided that if any person shall, by offering higher wages, or in any other way entice, persuade or decoy, or attempt to entice, persuade or decoy any farm laborer from his employer, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

And by act of December 17, 1901, it is also made a misdemeanor to rent land to a farmer or to furnish land to a farm laborer while he is under contract to another.

In general, the practice of the lower South is to make the liberty of the negro laborer or small farmer dependent upon his fulfilment of his contract obligations, and to give to his employer or creditor the power through friendly officials to exact labor from him while under duress. The working of this system displays itself in the establishment of the peonage system in Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, which is causing the United States authorities so much difficulty and expense to repress. Several convictions have been had for this offence, which amounts substantially to selling into enforced public service or the retaining in private involuntary servitude, persons who fail to pay alleged debts, fre-

quently extortionate or fraudulent. The crime appears to be on the increase throughout the South, and under present conditions is found exceedingly difficult of suppression.

While the recent magazine articles on the subject are of a rather sensational order, there is good reason for the belief that this quasi-slavery to which both white and black are subjected is assuming serious proportions. Frequent reports appear in the daily newspapers of practices of this character, and the difficulties experienced in the United States courts in securing convictions under sections 1990 and 5526 R. S. for the crime of peonage where negroes are complainants are forcible reminders of the arduous task of executing a statute not heartily sustained by public opinion.

No more may be said upon this point here than that this system, with the barbarous and inhuman convict-labor system of the extreme Southern States, has a general tendency compulsorily to retain the negro upon his native soil, and is leading towards a system of complete physical subjection which promises to be fruitful of the greatest injury to the race.

Turning now our attention to the North, industrially we find the condition of the negro even less hopeful than in the South. Here almost every avenue of opportunity to secure remunerative employment is closed against him. The tendency for some years has been toward a migration from Virginia and the Carolinas northward, and the black population of the Northern States has gradually been increasing in numbers, especially in urban communities. And yet the negro is not desired; no real demand for his services exists.

This could not be more clearly stated than has been done by President Eliot of Harvard University in a thoughtful address upon this subject at a meeting of the Armstrong

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Association in New York a year or two ago. President Eliot says:

With regard to coming into personal contact with negroes, the aversive feeling of the Northern whites is stronger than that of the Southern whites, who are accustomed to such contact, but on account of the fewness of the negroes in the North no separate provision is made for them in public conveyances and other places of resort, but the uneducated Northern whites are less tolerant of the negro than the Southern whites. More trades and occupations are actually open to negroes in Southern States than in the Northern.

The negro is not needed in the North, and at best he is now only tolerated, and the wisest members of the race are counselling him to remain in the more favorable industrial atmosphere of the Southern States.

In an article in the *American Magazine* for January, 1907, the Reverend Washington Gladden states the industrial condition of the Northern negro as follows:

You hear at the North not seldom the sentiment expressed that the negroes ought to be disfranchised, and there are multitudes here who are ready and determined to shut the door of opportunity in their faces. As a rule, they are not admitted to the Trades Unions; to very few of the skilled trades can they gain access; investigation in the city of New York shows 102 different trades or divisions of trades on the list of the Central Federated Union which have no negroes in their membership. Miss Ovington, who made this investigation, says: "Undoubtedly men are debarred from unions in New York solely because of their color. This is contrary to the ideals of organized labor and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and, I believe, to the sense of the best men

in the movement in New York. But the admission of a member is largely left to the local in which he applies, and there are various means by which a colored man may be refused admittance."

It is, indeed, true that as a matter of policy labor unions exclude the negro. The inspiring purpose of existence of these organizations is to effect a combination of those engaged in the various divisions of industrial pursuits upon a basis of fraternal effort to bring about increased efficiency in the democratic conduct of industries. They fail to affiliate with the negro for these purposes because his qualifications render him valueless for their membership.

John Mitchell, in his great work, *Organized Labor*, points out the fact that in many cases where strikes have taken place a deliberate policy on the part of employers of using negroes as strike breakers has been adopted, and that the racial animosities growing out of this practice prevent the negro from participating in the great benefits of organized labor institutions.

Condemned thus to an isolated labor existence, relegated to the less desirable and less lucrative occupations, the industrial condition of the negro in the North is deplorable. He has no assured standing, no fixed industrial status, either in city or in country. He is to be found idling about stables, saloons, and street corners, loitering upon the ragged edge of industry in waiting for odd jobs, or at best sporadically engaged in the most laborious and undesirable branches of industry.

A tour of observation through any of our great cities will satisfy the curiosity of even an ordinary observer as to the place which the negro holds industrially in a Northern community. He labors under two overwhelming disadvantages; first, the hostility of the white laborer, continually manifested in a refusal to work or associate with him, and

secondly, his own appreciation of the fact that no matter how diligently he may toil, no matter how trustworthy his conduct may approve him, there is no advancement in store for him beyond the performance of the most commonplace duties.

As a foreman, he is not to be endured by other laborers of different blood, and little by little he is forced down to undesirable and less lucrative occupations. And even in these, where they bring him into contact with white people of refined character, he is losing ground.

Thirty years ago, when the writer first came to New York, a large proportion of the high class restaurants and hotels employed negroes as waiters and general servants, and such, it is believed, was the situation in most of our Northern cities. This has almost entirely passed away, and now only in a few places of the humbler order are negroes to be found occupying these positions. Barber shops were very generally conducted thirty years ago by negroes; to-day, save for shops where customers are of their own race, negro barbers in the North are virtually unknown.

In hotels and clubs, with the exception of a few political clubs of distinctively Republican character, negro attendants are in disfavor. Inquiry at the first-class hotels in New York City elicits the fact that no negro help is desired. In the Borough of Brooklyn, where the writer resides, last winter there was opened a handsome new club house of a club embracing 2500 members, of whom, of course, not one negro is a member; this house, necessitating a corps of upwards of one hundred attendants, is absolutely without one negro, even in the most subordinate position. It is scarcely necessary to add further illustration of this argument.

One bright December day last winter on Fifth Avenue, New York, between the hours of four and five, occasion was taken to count three hundred carriages and hansoms, a large

proportion being private equipages, and to note the racial character of the drivers. Out of three hundred only seven were negroes. And, in like manner, any one going through the wealthy and more fashionable sections of our Northern cities can see that little household help of the African race is employed by refined families. In fact, the whole tendency of the times is against them. The greater the refinement of the white person, the less he desires to be brought into contact with the blacks, and in the marked industrial advancement of the North the negro has enjoyed but little share of the accruing benefit. Except in so far as he works for or does business with his own people or renders humble domestic service, the negro is an unimportant factor in the development of Northern communities.

The negro leaders recognize the futility of attempting to overcome this handicap in the North, and the wiser and more experienced members of the race advise their associates to remain in the South, where opportunities are better and racial antipathy less pronounced, and where by his knowledge of agriculture the negro may at least work out for himself a self-supporting career.

The condition of the Northern negro is pathetic. President Booker T. Washington, an incorrigible optimist in everything relating to the problem of negro advancement, was obliged to say in his recent address at the meeting of the American Committee of Political and Social Science at New Century Hall, Philadelphia:

No one can fully appreciate the need of an industrial training who has not walked the streets of a Northern city day after day seeking employment, only to find every door closed against him, on account of his color, except along certain lines of menial service.

The condition of the negro in the North is discouraging

to any continued migration from the South, and this in itself throws back the weight of the problem upon the Southern communities. To quote from the brief of the Attorney General of the United States in the case of *Hodges vs. United States* (203 U. S. 14), where it was decided that the Federal court had no jurisdiction to prevent the oppression of negroes so long as the acts complained of were not perpetrated by officials of a state:

The war of races is no longer a sectional war; it is as bitter in the State of Chase and Giddings as it is in the State of Arkansas. If the negro who is in our midst can be denied the right to work, and must live on the outskirts of civilization, he will become more dangerous than the wild beasts, because he has a higher intelligence than the most intelligent beast. He will become an outcast lurking about the borders and living by depredation.

It is unnecessary to pursue this topic further. If the condition of the negro politically, educationally, and industrially is as discouraging as has been depicted in the foregoing pages, it yet might be greatly alleviated had he the encouragement and opportunity which would come from a social sympathy exerted in his behalf and a sincere endeavor on the part of his fellow-citizens to elevate him to a position of equality with themselves.

Unfortunately for him, such is not the case. He is everywhere completely out of touch with the social activities of the people among whom he is obliged to exert his Social Isolation. his energies for the maintenance of his existence, and upon whose favor his welfare depends. In the South, by hereditary instinct as well as for economic reasons, he is debarred from every possible avenue leading to social advancement. We may ascribe this exclusion to what cause we please, to unworthy racial animosity or to an

instinctive and exalted desire for the preservation of the purity of the white race, but the fact remains one of common knowledge that throughout that entire region the negro is relegated in every possible way to the position of a social being of inferior character.

In his essay entitled *The Souls of Black Folk* (pp. 39, 40), the scholarly Professor William E. Burghardt Du Bois, of Atlanta University, thus depicts the social and economic condition of the rural negro of the South:

For this all men know: Despite compromise, war and struggle, the negro is not free. In the backwoods of the Gulf States, for miles and miles, he may not leave the plantation of his birth; in wellnigh the whole rural South the black farmers are peons bound by law and custom to an economic slavery, from which the only escape is death or the penitentiary.

In the most cultured sections and cities of the South the negroes are a segregated and servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges. Before the courts, both in law and custom, they stand on a different and peculiar basis. Taxation without representation is the rule of their political life. And the result of all this is, and in its nature must have been, lawlessness and crime.

We are told from time to time by well meaning theorists unfamiliar with the facts concerning the condition of the Southern negro, that this contemptuous treatment is not the true expression of the sentiment of the better class of that section; that this feeling is cherished only by those of the lower stratum of the white people, the descendants of the poor whites, who in ante-bellum days were considered as scarcely superior in point of social standing to the negro. This view will receive consideration in a subsequent chapter, where it will be pointed out upon what erroneous opinions it rests. But in so far as the South is concerned it must be accepted

as the dominating principle in its social life that the negro is to be rigidly excluded from participation in any event, or recognition in any relation, which may tend to place him upon the same social plane with the white man.

In explanation, the negro vehemently asserts that this is an unnatural and artificial barrier raised against him—that to race prejudice, and to race prejudice alone, is owing his exclusion from social equality—that by a vigorous and sympathetic effort on the part of the whites this condition of affairs might be relieved and the social organization of that community be founded upon a harmonious self-respecting basis, in which, without racial amalgamation, each of the peoples might develop itself on parallel lines of social equality. But we are not concerned with what might be the outcome of such an effort in a remote future. The subject of this chapter is the present condition of the negro race, and in the Southern States its members are regarded by the dominant caste as socially in the position of an outcast element, pariahs in an ostensibly democratic community.

The negro's hope of social recognition, therefore, naturally causes him to turn his thoughts to the North, and in that section, if anywhere, he must look for the gratification of his social aspirations. Now, what are the facts, the hard, disagreeable, but incontrovertible facts, regarding his social standing in the assumedly less proscriptive states of the North?

First, he enjoys whatever benefits may be derived from the various Civil Rights Bills in force in Northern States, which are intended to place him in all respects as to his civil rights and social opportunities upon the same basis as persons of white blood. But familiar knowledge informs us how ineffectual statutory law is to control public opinion in matters of social usage, and it is no great exaggeration of the matter

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to say that the negro is in the great communities of the North practically a social outlaw. Let us look over some of the divisions of the great field of social life for the purpose of ascertaining what in this regard is his actual condition.

To begin with, as to his place of residence. In Southern cities the negro quarter usually forms a distinct and well marked locality. In the North alike, even in the smaller cities and towns, the negroes of necessity congregate in certain fixed localities, a section once given over to their occupancy seeming to become permanently set apart for that purpose. In the larger cities the problem of the housing of the negro is a very serious one, and is a matter of gravest consequence to the well-being and, indeed, to the continued existence of the race.

The negroes, as is well known, are usually herded together in particular sections almost exclusively devoted to their abode, and they bitterly complain of being compelled to live by themselves amidst cheerless and disreputable surroundings. "Ninety-nine per cent. of the white owners," complained a paper read at the last convention of the National Negro Business League, "regard all negroes alike, making no distinctions between the decent and the disreputable."

In these negro districts the only recommendations required of a person seeking to rent property are a black face and a month's rent. If some aspiring black man desiring to live in a first class neighborhood in a Northern city purchases property for that purpose, the transaction brings dismay and consternation to all neighboring residents and property owners in the section affected. Occasionally, as an exhibition of spite on the part of some disgruntled property owner, he advertises his property situated in some aristocratic neighborhood for occupation by a colored family. If, indeed, under favorable circumstances, a negro family should be able to establish itself amidst pleasant surroundings

in a neighborhood occupied by white people, social ostracism of the most absolute character is the invariable result.

Second, as to educational facilities. While our higher universities profess to open their doors to all, and some few

Educational Opportunities. negroes have been honored with their degrees, the atmosphere of such institutions is absolutely unfavorable, and a growing dislike to the negro

renders his presence in such institutions practically impossible. "No negro," says Professor Du Bois, "has ever been admitted to Princeton, and in the other leading Northern institutions they are rather endured than encouraged."

The experience of West Point and Annapolis in endeavoring to graduate negro students for service in the army and navy should be chilling in its repression of the aspirations of the African race. Harvard alone of the leading institutions of the North appears to encourage, in some small measure, the desire of the negro to seek higher educational opportunities in the same class-room with the white student. But the few black students attending in her lecture halls serve only to give illustration to the feeling that excludes the members of the race from education in common with students of Caucasian blood.

The great insurance companies are restricting risks upon negroes' lives, and only last winter one of the largest institutions of this character announced its future policy to be to accept no risks upon persons of the African race.

Third, the great fraternal insurance organizations, with upwards of five millions of American men joined together for fraternal and beneficent purposes, and doing **Fraternal Associations.** so great a work in promoting the principles of brotherhood among men, rigidly exclude the negro from their benefits. The Royal Arcanum, Ancient Order of United Workmen, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Improved Order Heptasophs, Foresters, all alike by the constitution of

their organizations confine their benefits to white men. Even the Masonic institution, synonymous almost in the common speech with an all-embracing brotherhood of man, regards lodges of negroes, if recognition be given at all, as "clandestine," and therefore not entitled to Masonic communion or to be accorded Masonic rites and privileges.

We may yet go farther. An experiment in practical socialism by the establishment of a community under the leadership of a celebrated author and exponent of the most advanced socialistic ideas was attempted in New Jersey in the year 1906. Professing the most liberal creed and endeavoring to exclude no workmen being by any possibility eligible for membership, it was yet found necessary to insert as a condition of membership that the applicant should be white. An official announcement of the reason for this discrimination has been made to the effect that the color provision was inserted not because any objection was entertained against negroes on theory, but because it was deemed injudicious to invite avoidable difficulties in addition to those which would have of necessity to be encountered in the course of organization. In other words, even in advanced socialism the negro is an impossible element.

Fourth, the social isolation of the negro is extended even into the domain of religion. The politician may plead in **Religious Exclusion.** extenuation of his exclusion from public office that the negro vote is inconsiderable, or that as a candidate his race character is a disqualification. The labor union may justify its action in refusing him its benefits on the ground of his unskilfulness and unreliability. The fraternal order may reject his membership as involving undesirable risk or as inviting social dissension. But upon what plausible theory can he possibly be regarded as an intruder in religious organizations founded upon the vital principle of the fatherhood of God and the resulting brother-

hood of man, organizations whose fundamental precepts require a belief in the inspired pronouncement that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men"? Yet the sad truth remains that in no relation of life is his segregation more complete and the color line more rigorously drawn than in the Christian churches dedicated to the teaching of the doctrine of the perfect equality of all races and all colors at the altar and communion table. It has been found necessary to separate the races throughout the country wherever the negroes are found in any considerable proportion, and to establish distinct church organizations for each.

Thus we have the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the latest General Episcopal Convention, held at Richmond, Virginia, October, 1907, the principal subject of discussion was the proposition introduced by the Arkansas delegation recommending the appointment of negro bishops to preside over the members of African blood. Even the Young Men's Christian Association maintains what is euphemistically called "a colored branch," where the humble black man may in enforced separation be taught the tenets of a religion whose fundamental conception is that of the perfect brotherhood of mankind.

Occasionally we find a man with the courage of his convictions who recognizes the fact that, for good or evil, race antagonism is too powerful to be overcome even by religious devotion, and who has the perspicacity to maintain that the separation of the races is essential to church harmony. Such a man is the Reverend George R. Van De Water, the Rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Fifth Avenue and 127th Street, New York, one of the largest and most influential churches of the city, who has put into practical operation his pronounced theory that "it is not best that white

and black people should be in Sunday-school or in church on a plane of equality of privilege."

Apart from all theory, in New York separation is the almost universal practice. Visits made by the writer to many of the most prominent churches in the city during the winter of 1906-7 revealed the fact that the presence of a negro in any congregation was exceptional. Not one was seen at the meeting of the Society for Ethical Culture at Carnegie Hall, at Dr. Parkhurst's Madison Avenue Temple, at Holy Trinity, or at the Central Congregational Church, in Brooklyn. At Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on March 10, 1907, in a congregation of some 2500 people attracted by the fame and the preaching of a remarkable evangelist, seven negroes occupied inconspicuous seats in the rear of the church. This is the historic Beecher church, from the platform of which the sensational auction of the slave girl formed a dramatic incident of the anti-slavery conflict. Within fifteen minutes' walk of the church there live 10,000 negroes, easily 25,000 within a half-hour's ride. Under such circumstances the absence of negroes indicates with eloquent force the unbending strictness with which the color line is observed.

But why continue to discuss a self-evident proposition? The social isolation of the negro, North and South, is an established fact. At the church and in the armory, at the hotel, the theatre, the lodge, and the social gathering, wherever white men and women assemble on terms of social equality, the negro finds an insurmountable barrier of racial aversion forbidding his entrance. The higher the grade of refinement and the more cultivated the character of the whites, the more rigid is the social exclusion of the people of the disregarded race.

This incomplete survey serves to indicate with sufficient accuracy the actual condition of the negro race in the United

States, North and South. This dependent people stands as a thing apart, participating only in the slightest degree in the political and industrial life of the community; possessing but little property, displaying but slight industrial advancement, and condemned by the white race to absolute social exclusion.

Summary of Results. It may be that the facts set forth in this chapter are sufficiently familiar to many readers, but the purpose of their special introduction at this place is to emphasize the thought that so far as the solution of the negro problem upon the practical lines hereinafter proposed is concerned, there need be no misgivings upon the subject based upon the impression that the negro constitutes any integral part of this composite American nation. Alien in his beginning, alien in his present status, inferior by his present condition, inferior in his social and industrial standing, unassimilable in blood, unassimilable in thought, unassimilable in social station, he stands isolated, aloof, and despised, a disregarded victim of the spirit of caste, knocking in vain at the door of opportunity, unprovided with the magic word "sesame," the utterance of which causes it to spring open for all others.

CHAPTER V

ILLUSTRATIVE PHASES OF THE PROBLEM

By looking back into history, and considering the fate and revolutions of government, you will be able to draw a guess, and almost prophesy upon the future; for they will certainly be of the same nature, and cannot but be cast in the same mould. So that forty years of human life may serve for a sample of ten thousand. For what more will you see?—*Meditations of Marcus Aurelius.*

THE general plan to which the writer will endeavor to adhere in the presentation of his subject, is to state the broad facts relating to the character of the problem in an orderly manner, and to lay before the reader the principles underlying the plan proposed by Lincoln for its solution, without entering into minute details or special illustrations of any feature of the topic. In all sections of the country there appears to be a disposition evinced, in dealing with the negro question, to evade discussion of the fundamental principles involved in the problem, and to escape any final conclusion by digressing from the main subject into the discussion of some immaterial detail, or by the relating of some more or less pertinent incident falling under the observation of the writer or speaker.

Mr. H. G. Wells, the English traveller, keenly noted this strong disinclination to advance any definite statement in relation to the negro's future, and remarked that whenever he interrogated any of his American acquaintances as to the

ultimate outcome of the problem, the point was adroitly avoided by the introduction of some more or less irrelevant anecdote about some particular negro, or by the drifting away into a general discussion of the deficiencies of the race.

President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, studiously assumes the same attitude whenever called upon to state his conception as to the permanent adjustment of the relation between the races. With astonishing cleverness he finds refuge in some special incident which has just come under his observation as typifying the progress of the race. He diverts discussion from the serious issue by describing the achievements of some noted Kansas farmer of his race, whose production of potatoes surpasses in size and quality those of any other grower in the United States, or enlightens his audience with the information that several negro banks have recently been established in Alabama, and that a newly incorporated negro real-estate company in Cleveland is making remarkable progress in the acquisition of suburban property. While he states the present condition and prospects of his race with admirably optimistic effect, and forcibly appeals to the sympathy of his hearers, it is impossible to glean from his combination of anecdote, statistics, and declamation any indication of his genuine belief as to the future of his people.

But as illustrations lend force to argument, and at times impress more strongly upon the mind of the reader the importance of a special feature of the subject than any statement based upon general reasoning, this chapter will be devoted to the presentation of some illustrations of the character and gravity of the problem, tending to emphasize the seriousness of the present situation, and the impossibility of effecting any solution other than the one advocated by Lincoln.

1. "The villany you teach me," said old Shylock, "I will

execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.”

The The following account of a natural outbreak of
Brownsville race animosity indicates that the negro, given
Incident. the opportunity, can prove himself no unapt pupil in the school of violence and murderous outrage.

In order that the potency of race antipathy may be fully appreciated, and the natural result of placing the negro in a position of prominence and authority in a white community understood, a straightforward narration of the facts attending the riot at Brownsville, Texas, which occurred in the summer of 1906, will be found peculiarly instructive. The purpose of introducing at this point the consideration of this much discussed incident is to impress upon the mind of the reader the utter futility of attempting to ignore the existence of racial antipathy in any examination of the negro problem. There is deep significance in every aspect of this transaction.

On August 13, 1906, a battalion of three companies of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, composed of negroes, was stationed at Brownsville, Texas. The organization was one of long standing, being a part of one of the four negro regiments organized under an act of Congress shortly after the Civil War. The battalion was possessed of a good reputation for gallantry and soldierly conduct, although some serious complaints arising from race difficulties had theretofore been made of its misconduct, in other localities where it had been stationed. It had been assigned to duty at various points in the North and West, and was composed of a class of carefully selected negroes, who, by natural qualifications and acquired training, were much superior to the average members of the race.

Let us see what happened on this night in question. Lest it be considered that the facts relating to the affair might be too strongly presented by the writer, the description of

the incident by President Roosevelt, contained in his message to Congress of December 19, 1906, is quoted:

It appears, that in Brownsville, the city immediately beside which Fort Brown is situated, there had been considerable feeling between the citizens and the colored troops of the garrison companies. Difficulties had occurred, there being a conflict of evidence as to whether the citizens or the colored troops were to blame. My impression is that, as a matter of fact, in these difficulties there was blame attached to both sides; but that is a wholly unimportant matter for our present purpose, as nothing that occurred offered in any shape or way an excuse or justification for the atrocious conduct of the troops when, in lawless and murderous spirit, they made their attack upon the citizens.

The attack was made near midnight on August 13th. The following facts as to this attack are made clear by Major Blocksom's investigation, and have not been, in my judgment, and cannot be, successfully controverted. From nine to fifteen or twenty of the colored soldiers took part in the attack. They leaped over the walls from the barracks and hurried through the town. They shot at whomsoever they saw moving, and they shot into houses where they saw lights. In some of these houses there were women and children, as the would-be murderers must have known. In one house in which there were two women and five children, some ten shots went through at a height of about four and a half feet above the floor, one putting out the lamp upon the table. The lieutenant of police of the town heard the firing and rode toward it. He met the raiders, who, as he stated, were about fifteen colored soldiers. They instantly started firing upon him. He turned and rode off, and they continued firing upon him until they had killed his horse. They shot him in the right arm (it was afterwards amputated above the elbow). A number of

Feeling
between
Citizens and
Soldiers.

shots were also fired at two other policemen. The raiders fired several times into a hotel, some of the shots being aimed at a guest sitting by a window. They shot into a saloon, killing the bartender and wounding another man.

At the same time other raiders fired into another house in which women and children were sleeping, two of the shots going over the bed in which two children were lying. Several other houses were struck by bullets. It was at night, and the streets of the town are poorly lighted, so that none of the individual raiders were recognized; but the evidence of many witnesses of all classes was conclusive to the effect that the raiders were negro soldiers. The scattered bullets, shells and clips of the government rifles, which were found on the ground, are merely corroborative. So are the bullet holes in the houses; some of which it appears must, from the direction, have been fired from the fort just at the moment when the soldiers left it. Not a bullet hole appears in any of the structures of the fort.

The townspeople were completely surprised by the unprovoked and murderous savagery of the attack. The soldiers were the aggressors from start to finish. They met with no substantial resistance, and one and all who took part in that raid stand as deliberate murderers, who did murder one man, who tried to murder others, and who tried to murder women and children. The act was one of horrible atrocity, and, so far as I am aware, unparalleled for infamy in the annals of the United States Army.

Subsequent investigation of the most searching character has but served to verify the accuracy of the above statement, and the resulting action of the President in dismissing the entire battalion from the service, when it was made to appear that a conspiracy of silence on the part of all its members, for the purpose of shielding the guilty, existed, has been upheld by the Senate, and has met the commendation of the country at large.

The causes of this murderous onslaught upon a peaceful, sleeping community are not far to seek. They had their origin in the rancorous hatred of the superior race, engendered by the contumelious treatment to which the soldiers of the negro command had been subjected at that post, as well as at their former stations. The evidence produced on the investigation of this atrocious violation of law established the fact that, from their arrival at Brownsville, the members of the battalion had been made to feel that their presence was not desired, and that they had been subjected to every manner of race discrimination. Several affrays or altercations had occurred between members of the organization and citizens and officials of the community.

The negro soldiers had been refused accommodations at the hotels, barber shops, and bar-rooms of the town, and the various indignities which they had sustained led them to this vindictive retaliation. Having more than the ordinary intelligence of the members of their race, and feeling the natural spirit of superiority which rightfully belongs to the wearer of the uniform of a soldier of the United States, they could not brook the repeated insults to which they were being subjected; insults which the ordinary Southern negro would have regarded as the inseparable incidents of his condition. The reasons which prompted them to execute revenge upon the citizens of Brownsville are clearly set forth in the resolution adopted by the negro citizens of Boston and vicinity at a numerously attended meeting held at Faneuil Hall, for the purpose of remonstrating against the action of the President in dismissing the entire battalion from the service without honor:

Brooding on repeated insults and outrages, a few of these colored soldiers went into the town with their guns, determined to do for themselves what the uniform of their country could not do for them, and what the

The Resolution.

police power of white Brownsville would not do for them, namely, to protect them from such insults and outrages, and to punish at the same time the authors of their miseries.

They had, indeed, bettered their instructions. Doubtless in the North they would have been received at any military station with something less of active contumely, but even at Fort Sheridan, Sacketts Harbor, Fort Hamilton, or any other Northern post, they would, in greater or less degree, have been made to feel that their presence was disagreeable alike to officers, soldiers, and citizens.

The end of this incident is not yet. For over two years the negro's grievance arising out of the Brownsville occurrence has been the staple topic of discussion among the members of the race, and the animosity generated by the affair will not readily be allayed. It has alienated their affection for the President, who, by social courtesies extended to a prominent member of the race, as well as by numerous expressions of interest in their welfare, had won their loving admiration. It has brought upon the party which the voters of negro blood habitually support, denunciations for its cowardice and perfidy in failing to champion the cause of the, to them, unjustly accused members of the disbanded battalion. It menaced the prospects of the Republican candidate for the Presidency in the recent election by the possible defection of the 31,420 negro voters of New York, the 18,186 of Indiana, and the 21,474 of New Jersey. For years to come the evil effects of the Brownsville episode will remain, a source of irritation to the negro by reason of the fancied injustice of the Government toward the race, and a standing argument in the hands of the enemies of the black man in favor of his complete exclusion from the military forces of the nation. When the convention of negro Methodist Bishops, assembled at Washington last

winter, representing substantially the entire negro church membership of the country, advises the churches under its jurisdiction to shape their political action solely with respect to the Brownsville episode, what further evidence is needed of the dominance of the race issue in that religious organization?

The lesson to be drawn from this gruesome incident is that of the dangerous result of entrusting power to the members of an inferior race, and expecting its exercise to be respected by those of another strain of blood, conscious of their superior qualifications. With the general advancement of the negro to official position in proportion to his numbers, the disgraceful Brownsville episode would soon be followed by many of kindred character, and the problem of the color line would assume a more intense character.

2. As stated in the opening chapter of this work, the negro problem outclasses all others, not only in its inscrutable character, but as well in its permanent relation to the sociological literature of the country.

Literature of the Problem. It may be that at some particular time some other question (as in the present years the question of the regulation of predatory wealth) may occupy a larger portion of space in the literature of current discussion, but considering the average of the years as they pass, in book, magazine, and newspaper discussion, the negro problem commands the most prominent attention. The output on the subject is enormous.

In 1906, the Government printing office issued a pamphlet giving a selected list of references on the negro question, embracing only the comparatively recent works on the subject, and not attempting to present the entire bibliography of the period. In this pamphlet were enumerated 313 separate works in book form, devoted to the general discussion of the negro problem in its varying relations. This

is supplemented by a list of articles published in periodicals numbering 291, of which 273 have been published within the last ten years, all bearing upon this vexatious but absorbing topic, and indicating the tremendous interest which it evokes.

The present writer, during a comparatively brief study of the question, and without seeking to prepare a specially elaborate collection of material, has accumulated six large scrap-books of newspaper articles appearing day by day, discussing the various aspects of the negro's relation to the nation's life. Scarcely a daily issue of one of our large newspapers, North or South, can be examined without finding some news item, editorial, or communication, presenting the views of the writer as to the proper treatment or disposition of the members of the African race. The negro himself contributes voluminously to the discussion, with a certain bitter tinge of feeling to his disputation, indicative of his dissatisfaction with present conditions.

The following display headings copied from the first page of the *New York Times*, of Wednesday, December 26, 1906, fairly illustrate the attention that conservative newspaper deemed it necessary to give the Christmas record of the negro for that year:

WHITES IN RACE WAR KILL BLACKS BLINDLY; Innocent Negroes Shot in the Mississippi Trouble; Soldiers Left the County; Angered by Sights, Militiamen Abandoned the Field to Disorder; Are Ordered Back; Two Whites Slain.

NEGRO TROOPS ATTACK A LEAVENWORTH CAR; Members of Ninth Cavalry Hurl Stones at White Soldiers; Three Men are Arrested; Two More to be Locked up; Trouble Starts over Disputed Carfare; No Shots Fired.

CUBAN NEGROES RAIDING; More Troops Sent to Santa Clara Province to Restore Order.

SLAIN AT SOLDIERS' FEAST; Corporal of Ninth Negro Cavalry Shot by a Sergeant at Fort Sheridan.

LEITER AUTO KILLS A BOY; Negro Lad in Washington Jumps in Front of a Big Car.

SILLY, SAYS FORAKER; His Remarks on the Story of the President's Defiance.

These surely afford a sufficient indication that the negro problem is greatly in evidence in the pages of the newspaper of the time.

3. The result of the racial antipathy between the Caucasian and the African manifests itself in the social isolation of the negro, a condition of the problem which may be observed in all sections of our country. During the past five years the writer has had occasion to visit the principal American cities from Boston to St. Louis and from Milwaukee to Norfolk, and excepting upon three or four occasions has never seen whites and negroes associating upon what might be described as even an apparent condition of social equality. If any reader will essay the task of observing the conduct and demeanor of the two races as they meet in stores, on the street, or in the cars, he will immediately note the isolation of the negro and the instinctive aversion with which the white person regards his African fellow-citizen. Note, if you will, the instinctive shrinking of the refined American woman as an individual of the negro race takes his place beside her in a crowded car, and you will get a reasonably clear perception of the repugnance existing wherever the two races are brought into contact. Even in the lowest class of society, how infrequently do we observe members of the two races associating together.

Mr. George S. Merriam, in his work on *The Negro and the Nation* (page 407), describes a remarkable occurrence, in which he narrates how a Springfield lawyer (presumably

white), "meeting in Philadelphia an old classmate in the Law School, accepted his invitation to dinner at his boarding house, and there found himself among a score of ladies and gentlemen, all dark-skinned, elegant in dress and manners, agreeable in conversation, and meeting their guest with entire ease and composure." It is, of course, quite within the bounds of possibility that some such incident actually took place, but it imposes a tremendous strain upon the credulity of his readers to ask them to believe that the guest found any special enjoyment in his unusual surroundings, or that he felt impelled to renew his association upon subsequent visits.

A circumstance narrated to the writer a few months ago by a young New York lawyer, a man of college training and high character, fairly illustrates the strength of this racial antipathy and the impossibility of the negro and the white man interchanging social courtesies. He says:

It chanced that I found myself in an unfamiliar, modest restaurant at the luncheon hour. I had seated myself and the waiter had just served my order, and with good appetite I was about to enjoy my midday meal, when there entered two negroes, fairly well dressed, gentlemanly in their conduct, evidently above the ordinary laboring class, and, as I should judge, clerks or small business men. I observed that my waiter did his best to convince them that there was no room for them, but observing two unoccupied seats at my table, they placed themselves opposite to me and proceeded to give the waiter their orders. The effect of their presence so close at hand did not tend to give zest to my appetite. Abruptly ending my meal, I arose and, calling the waiter, paid my bill and departed. As I left the table the negroes instinctively noted the situation, but I could not overcome my dislike to their presence at my table. The waiter said to me, "I am sorry, sir, but I could n't help it, they just took those seats." I felt

sorry for them, sorry for the waiter, and ashamed of myself as an American gentleman, but the fact remained that the repugnance to their presence was not to be overcome.

4. Beyond question the most notable educational achievement accomplished by the negro up to the present time is the establishment of the Tuskegee Institute and Normal School at Tuskegee, Macon County, Alabama, near the centre of that state and in the heart of the "Black Belt" of the South. This school, the result of negro aspiration and Northern assistance, is easily the leading negro educational institution of the country. By the census of 1900 the population of Macon County was 23,126, divided as follows: whites—4,252; negroes—18,874; nearly four and one half negroes to each white person.

The high purpose of Tuskegee is to give to the negro youth of the South, in conjunction with religious and academic instruction, industrial training, and especially to inculcate among its students ideas of cleanliness of life, economy, thrift, and the dignity of manual labor. The purpose is noble, the methods adopted are appropriate, the success has been marvellous, and the fame of the institution has spread throughout the civilized world. Year by year, President Washington and his efficient associates are sending forth from this Alabama institution a corps of young negro men and women, qualified to become leaders of their people in all sections of the land, and to do missionary work for the elevation of the standard of negro life and morals. Here is a great object-lesson in standards of living and thinking for the race; an educational foundation having cost upwards of half a million dollars, with an annual expenditure of \$100,000 for teaching purposes; an assemblage of 1500 students in its various departments, with a pedagogic staff of over one hundred black men and women devoting them-

selves to the elevation of the ignorant and untrained members of the race.

In Macon County, by the census of 1900, there were 3782 negroes of voting age,—President Washington and the other officials of the Institute doubtless being included. Probably by 1906 there were 4000, embracing many students of the school as well as the local population.

The vote for Governor the last mentioned year stood—Comer, Democrat, 301; Stratton, Republican, 5.

In 1904 the vote for President was as follows: Parker, Democrat, 562; Roosevelt, Republican, 51. In 1908, Bryan, Democrat, 482; Taft, Republican, 38.

Under the very shadow of this noble Institute, on the very spot where hope of negro advancement centres, the negro remains in a hopeless condition of disfranchisement as doubtless the few Republican votes represent the white voters of the county.

In another chapter graphic illustration will be given of how the intensity of the race antipathy in the community surrounding this excellent training school focuses itself on the institution, and with what scrupulous care the negro must observe his position of subordination in order not to call down upon him the active antagonism of the superior race. It would occasion no surprise in the minds of persons well informed upon the darker aspects of the negro problem, to learn at any time that the Institute had been made an object of mob violence, and that the hostile white population had applied the torch to the numerous and expensive buildings so well adapted to the industrial education of the negro race. The writer long hesitated before making this statement of such an abhorrent possibility, but finding the same thought expressed in an essay by an eminent Southern student of the problem, he desires to express this as his well considered opinion upon the subject.

At the Republican State Convention of Ohio, assembled on the 4th of March, 1908, the following resolution was adopted:

The civil and political rights of the American negro in every state should be sustained; believing as we do that his marvellous progress in intelligence, industry, and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation and that those legislative enactments that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone are unfair, un-American, and repugnant to the supreme law of the land, we favor the reduction of representation in Congress and the Electoral College in all the states of this Union where white and colored citizens are disfranchised, to the end that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States may be enforced according to its letter and spirit.

It is commonly believed that resolutions of this character are adopted merely as political buncombe, and, conceived in hypocrisy, are never intended to reach the stage of enforcement; but should an attempt be made to translate this declaration, which doubtless expresses the sincere views of a large element of the voting population of Ohio, into political action, and a measure be adopted by Congress depriving the South of its representation in the House of Representatives and the Electoral College, as therein demanded, with the first attempt at the enforcement of such an enactment, Tuskegee would cease to exist, and no negro church, schoolhouse, factory, farmhouse, or cabin would be safe from immediate destruction. The negro in the South holds his property and personal rights wholly dependent upon the precarious security afforded by the ignoble acquiescence by the North in such repressive measures as the white men of the former section may choose to exert against the politically voiceless blacks.

5. We have described the negro as an alien element of our population. A stranger he is, and a sojourner in the land, as were his fathers before him. The years of his Progress through Slavery. slavery tend to confuse our perception of the paramount fact that he is antipodally different from all other races coming to our shores.

It is a commonplace to ascribe the present difficulty to the criminal conduct of our forefathers in bringing the ancestors of our present negroes to the country. When we pause to consider, however, that the African slave-trade was interdicted by the Federal Constitution after January 1, 1808, and that even before that time the traffic was confined to a comparatively few traders, it is evident that in a strict sense but few of us can personally claim descent from those who in any way participated in the nefarious occupation. Nor is it entirely clear that any crime was, in fact, committed. Slavery was the common practice of the age when the traffic was begun, and all nations took part in the lucrative commerce in human commodities without compunction, and, indeed, without a suggestion of criminality.

Let the truth-seeking reader examine the account to be found in the fifth chapter of Macaulay's *History of England*, of the sale into slavery of eight hundred and forty-one Englishmen, after the battle of Sedgemoor (1685), to be worked and flogged to death in the pestilential West Indian plantations, and let him consider further the multitude of white men who were transported to the English colonies as redemptioners or leased convicts, before deciding *ex post facto* that those who introduced negroes into this country were guilty of moral turpitude. There is virtual slavery enough in the South to-day, and, indeed, in the heart of our teeming Northern cities, to make us pause and reflect before we assume the holier-than-thou attitude and proceed to denounce the actions of those instrumental in introducing

the negro to the benefits of our civilization. Are we, in our day, wiser than they were in theirs?

And besides, can it be truly said, no matter how sincerely we may reprobate the motives which inspired the slave-trader, that to remove a negro savage from the unutterable degradation of the African slave coast, and to set his feet upon the bottom rounds of the ladder which in toilsome fashion he must climb to reach a position of honor and usefulness, was to inflict injury either upon the individual or the race? Vast as was the waste of life wrought by the cruelty of the slave-catcher and the infamies of the Middle Passage, it is doubtful if it equalled, in its terrible features, the barbarous slaughter so common among the savage tribes of West Africa, the mere narration of which by modern travellers staggers the imagination.

Adding illustration to reasoning: In January, 1907, Major Robert R. Moton, the Superintendent of Hampton Institute, addressed an audience of twelve to fifteen hundred white people gathered at a meeting of the Armstrong Association, at the Heights Casino in Brooklyn, New York City. For upwards of half an hour he held the attention of his audience, while in simple but forcible fashion he told the story of his rise from surroundings of poverty and ignorance to the important and honorable position which he now occupies.

In the beginning he told the story, familiar but always picturesque, of how his African ancestor some four or five generations removed, a distinguished chief of a Senegambian tribe, undertook to deliver a gang of slaves to a trader on the coast, and how by treacherous device the captor was included with the captives in the horrors of the voyage to America. Continuing his description, and vividly depicting the development of his ancestors in their years upon Virginian soil, he told his auditors how with emancipation

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an opportunity had come to the descendants of the captured chief still further to increase the distance separating them from his condition of hopeless savagery. Said he:

While I do not appear upon this platform to-night as a eulogist of slavery, nor disposed for a moment to condone its manifold cruelties and crimes, as a thinking man I cannot fail to recognize that in its influence upon my life through ancestral experiences its operation has been beneficial.

Continuing, the speaker elaborated the point that while in Africa the negro had made but comparatively feeble progress during the past two centuries, in the same period, as the outcome of the operation of this "sum of all villainies," there were domiciled in this country nearly ten million of the African race, superior in education, religion, morals, and material development to all other negroes upon the face of the globe.

This clear-sighted representative of his race had grasped the deep truth of the proposition that, severe as was the schooling of oppression and unrequited toil, the experiences of generations of servitude had laid a foundation for the continued betterment of his people. The same thought is expressed by John C. Reed at page 16 of his book, *The Brothers' War*, where he observes:

American slavery found the negro gabbling inarticulately and gave him English; it found him a cannibal and fetishist and gave him the Christian religion; it found him a slave to whom his savage master allowed no rights at all, and it gave him an enlightened master bound by law to accord him the most precious human rights; it found him an inveterate idler and gave him the work habit; it found him promiscuous in the horde and gave him the benign beginning of the monogamic family,—in short, as now appears

very strongly probable, American slavery gave him his sole opportunity to rise above the barbarism of West Africa.

6. Great nations usually possess great capitals. At the seat of government naturally centre the potent influences of political life, the art, the architecture, scientific research, financial power, the best of the literature and society of the nation. To the capital, the Jerusalem, Rome, Cordova, or Tokio of the nation, its people look for esthetic development and artistic excellence, as well as for leadership in material affairs and far-reaching political influences. In the nation's capital we expect to find the most refined type of the nation's citizenship, its best presentation to the world of its worthy men and women.

Rome represents at once the historic dignity of the ancient republic and the practical strength of the new Italian kingdom. "Paris is France," typifying, in her solid material prosperity and opportunities for the refined enjoyment of life, the peculiar genius of the French people. In like manner, London, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Buenos Ayres are capitals of which their respective nations may be justly proud, each in its own way appealing to the affection of its inhabitants, and exacting the admiration of the visitor. These renowned cities, and others of like character, emulate each other in presenting to all comers, native or foreign, the most respectable element of the citizenship of the nation, arraying themselves in architectural beauty and civic dignity, not unworthy of their pre-eminence.

Compared with any one of these famous metropolitan communities, how insignificant appears our capital city! Notwithstanding the admirable plan upon which the city of Washington is laid out, its fortunate climatic situation,

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Negro
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Capital.

and the natural beauty of its surroundings, and despite the enormous sums which have been devoted to its embellishment by the erection of stately public buildings and the ornamental improvement of its broad thoroughfares, our national capital remains a city of which no well informed American can be sincerely proud.

The principal cause of this absence of dignity and distinction is the presence of an undue proportion of negroes among the population of the seat of government. By the census of 1900 the population of the city was 278,717, of which 86,702 were of the African race, that element thus constituting nearly one-third of the inhabitants. While, taken all together, perhaps the negro presents a more favorable appearance in Washington than in any other city of the country, the fact of his presence in such numbers deprives our nation's capital both of business prosperity and nobility of appearance.

Statistics here demonstrate, as in other sections of the country, that the negro furnishes an abnormal proportion of the criminal population of the District of Columbia. Although less than one-third in numbers, the race supplies 74 per cent. of the enumerated prisoners in the District of Columbia, and of the 125 persons committed during the year 1904 for serious crimes, the negro furnished 94, upward of 75 per cent. This astonishing record of criminality at the very seat of governmental dignity is supplemented by conditions of squalid poverty and vicious degradation which discredit the character of the local government and which render the section south of Pennsylvania Avenue a disgrace to the capital city of a civilized community.

The fact that the negro is so numerous in Washington, more numerous than in any other city in the country, and that he is generally assumed to be peculiarly entitled to the protection of the National Government, renders him un-

usually self-assertive in his attitude towards the white people, and correspondingly decreases the attractions of the capital as a place of residence for people of refinement.

The result of the unfortunate tendency of negroes to congregate at the capital, to the exclusion of whites, is three-fold:—In the first place, it deters the wealthy and leisure classes of the nation from making the capital of the country their place of residence, and forbids the formation of artistic, scientific, or literary circles at the seat of government, rendering the atmosphere of Washington almost entirely of a legal and political character. Further, it deprives the people of the District of Columbia of the right of self-government, it having been found by experiment that the negro population is unworthy to be entrusted with political power; and the other permanent residents of the District, insufficient in numbers and wealth to maintain a proper city establishment, are of necessity governed directly by Congress. This arrangement leads to a complete loss of interest on the part of the governed in the welfare of the city, and leaves its administration in the hands of strangers. Third, and of serious importance, this seamy side of our beautiful capital degrades the whole nation in the eyes of those accustomed to the splendid avenues, imposing buildings, and substantial populations of the great European capitals.

What must be the impression of the foreign visitor or diplomatic representative when, upon arrival at the seat of government of this nation, supposed peculiarly to represent the most advanced type of human development, he finds himself surrounded by the miscellaneous horde of uncouth, grotesque negroes, who are found continually idling about the railway stations and other public places of the city, and at every turn has the unpleasant fact forced upon him that he is in the midst of a hybrid population, neither negro nor white? No subsequent travel through the

prosperous North or West can ever remove the impression produced by his first contact with the inhabitants of the nation's capital, and the discovery that it contains so large a proportion of negro population. The presence of the negro retards the material development, belittles the character, and diminishes the prestige of the city which of all others should be most representative of our American democratic civilization, and which should in the coming years assume rank among the stately capitals of civilization.

7. In a subsequent chapter some necessary consideration will be given to the system of peonage or industrial slavery, which is rapidly taking root in the lower South, and which the National Government is experiencing extreme difficulty in suppressing. Intimately associated with this subject of peonage, of which so little is known in other sections of the country, and which procures its victims among ignorant white men as well as negroes, is the convict labor system prevailing in the states where the negro population is mainly concentrated.

The
Convict
Labor
System.

The practice prevails throughout the range of states extending from Virginia to Texas, of leasing persons convicted of crime (the great majority being negroes) to the highest bidder, who thus acquires the right to avail himself of their labor as a matter of speculation. Statistics relating to this barbarous practice are simply incredible. The usual custom is for the bidder, frequently some favored politician, to sublet the convicts by hundreds to contractors for road-making, lumbering, working in the turpentine industry, or other similar exhausting labor. The prices paid for the labor of these convicts by those employing their services appear almost beyond belief.

Under a sub-contract made in the spring of 1907, Ham-bey & Toomer, lessees of 500 Georgia convicts, sublet the

labor of these unfortunate beings at \$47.50 per month each, a sum in excess of \$10 per week for common labor, where the contractor has the burden of supporting the convict; yet doubtless the sub-contractors expect to make a reasonable profit out of their disreputable bargain. It would appear from the Southern newspapers that there exists a considerable rivalry among the states of that region for the distinction of obtaining the highest price for the leasing of these luckless criminals. In the case mentioned, however, the state received but \$19 per month for the labor of these wretched malefactors, the difference between that sum and the price obtained as above stated being the profit of the political contractors.

Complaints of the inefficiency of the negro labor of the South are of constant occurrence, and when we take into consideration the ordinary wages paid to unskilled labor in that section, or even the higher compensation of the same class of labor in the North, and reflect upon what must be exacted in the way of production from an ill-fated convict for whom a sub-contractor is paying \$47.50 per month, with the expense of keeping, the horrors of the system must at once impress themselves on the mind of any person possessing the least spirit of humanity.

In the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* of March, 1907, an account will be found, substantiated by names, places, and dates, showing to what extent this practice is in vogue. The evil possibilities of such a system of convict labor are scarcely susceptible of exaggeration, and what little information the outside world can obtain regarding peonage and the chain-gang system of the South is not calculated to impress us with the enduring value of the achievements of our civilization.

During the present session, there is pending in Congress an investigation of the charges that a system of peonage

exists in Mississippi, and the harsh treatment which both whites and negroes have received in that state has attracted the attention of all civilized lands, and has caused the Italian Government to caution its subjects against being induced to settle in that state, and substantially to forbid their emigration to any part of the country where the chain-gang system prevails.

Simon Legree, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, tersely stated the theory of the chain-gang:

I don't go for savin' niggers. Use up and buy more 's my way—makes you less trouble and I 'm quite sure comes cheaper in the end. . . . Stout fellers last six or seven years, trashy ones gets worked up in two or three. . . . I just put 'em straight through, sick or well. When one nigger 's dead I buy another, and I find it comes cheaper and easier every way.

The spirit of Uncle Tom's brutal master must still be hovering over the victims of peonage and the wretched chain-gang convicts engaged in the turpentine camps and lumber districts of the lower South.

8. Of all devices employed for the purpose of marking the distinction between the white and negro races in the South, "Jim Crow" Laws probably the most offensive to the negro is what are commonly known as the "Jim Crow" laws. The term is of recent origin, and is employed to designate the discrimination which is made by legislation throughout the whole section from the Potomac to Mexico, between the accommodations provided for the Caucasian and the negro races in all relations of life. By custom, and usually by positive statute law, the segregation of the races is rigidly enforced, and while in theory equal accommodations are required, in practice the provision for the negro is decidedly inferior. This strict separation is likewise a practice of

recent years, necessitated by the increasing prosperity of the negro, and is attributable to the resulting desire on his part to enjoy superior accommodations, and to his demand to be permitted to travel in the same manner as his white associates.

During the years immediately succeeding the Civil War, the ignorance and poverty of the negro obviated the necessity of these "Jim Crow" enactments, but with his attainment of some degree of material prosperity, he complains when he finds himself more rigorously relegated to separate, and usually markedly inferior, accommodations. Perhaps the best illustration of this tendency is to be found in our newly admitted state of Oklahoma. It is said that the Constitutional Convention of 1907 was in favor of embodying in the fundamental law a provision allowing separate accommodations in public travel to be provided for the different races, but that the fear prevailed that such a discrimination would result in the rejection of the Constitution, and the organic law of the state is silent upon the subject. The Constitution, however, contains the following provision:

ARTICLE I., Section 5. The Legislature may provide for the establishment and maintenance of separate schools for white and colored children.

ARTICLE XIII., Section 3, under the subject of education, defines "colored children" as "children of African descent," and all other children as "white children." It is, indeed, a remarkable commentary on the sincerity of political professions that the Republican party, upholding the theory of absolute racial equality, controlling the Presidency, and possessing a large majority in each House of Congress, should have accepted as satisfactory a constitution containing a provision so obnoxious to the fundamental principles of republican institutions.

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But worse remains behind. Scarcely was the new state admitted and the organization of its government perfected, before a measure was enacted by both Houses of the Legislature, and received the sanction of the Governor, providing in railway travel for separate coaches and waiting-rooms for the two races, with the usual condition that they must be of equal character. A large proportion of the million and a half population of this recent accession to statehood comes from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, and the fact that such a provision was adopted with practical unanimity gives expression to the vigor of racial antipathy prevailing in the newly organized commonwealth.

A recent newspaper article described the disagreeable experiences of a negro professor, who attempted to assert his right to travel in the ordinary Pullman coach from St. Louis to Guthrie, Oklahoma. He was compelled in Oklahoma to accept the accommodations of the "Jim Crow" car, being subjected, not only to inconveniences, but to exceedingly humiliating treatment.

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, in his studiously accurate description of Southern methods of dealing with the race problem, describes the conditions existing on Southern railway trains as being a source of constant irritation to both races. He says:

When I came South I took particular pains to observe the arrangement on the trains. In some cases negroes are given entire cars at the front of the train, at other times they occupy the rear end of a combination coach and baggage car, which is used in the North as a smoking compartment. Complaint here is that while the negro is required to pay first class fare, he is provided with second class accommodations, while to-day negroes who can afford to travel also complain that they are not permitted to engage sleeping car berths. Booker T.

Washington usually takes a compartment where he is entirely cut off from white passengers.

And so at length he depicts the universal discrimination against black men in railway and other travel in that section. The same practice of segregation would prevail in the North were the number of negroes sufficient to render their separation feasible.

Should the reader desire further information upon the serious import of this phase of the negro problem, the material may be obtained from a careful examination of the acrimonious debate upon the subject of "Jim Crow" cars which took place in the House of Representatives on last Washington's Birthday. A measure for the regulation of the street railway companies of Washington being under consideration in the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Heflin, of Alabama, offered the following amendment:

And shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races by providing two or more cars, or by dividing their cars by a partition or adjustable screen, which may be made movable, so as to allow adjustment of the space in the car in the manner suited to the requirements of the traffic, so as to secure separate accommodations for the white and colored races. No person shall be permitted to occupy seats in cars or compartments other than the ones assigned to them on account of the race to which they belong.

The debate upon this amendment, which merely sought to introduce into the city of Washington the practice prevailing from that place to the Mexican border, carries the mind back to the rancorous discussions of the years succeeding the Civil War. On the one side of the question were arrayed the members from the South in unanimous advocacy of the passage of the amendment; on the other, the

Northern Congressmen denouncing the proposed amendment as abhorrent, inhuman, and unjustifiable, subversive of the rights of the negro, and inimical to the principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed by the Constitution. After a prolonged and bitter debate, characterized by accusations of hypocrisy on the one side, and of a desire to humiliate the negro on the other, the amendment was lost—ayes 57, noes 104.

The strikingly significant incident of the debate will be found at page 2430 of the *Congressional Record*, where one practical member of the House, while favoring the amendment, expressed himself as opposed to its present consideration. "Let us," said he, "get the bill through, and some time in the future, in general debate, let us thrash the negro question out, even if we thrash each other while doing it." (Laughter.) When we bring to mind the serious consequences which might ensue from an attempt of one section to thrash the other over the negro problem, it is somewhat difficult to understand how this discussion can be regarded in a jocular spirit, and remarks of this character be properly considered a subject of merriment.

During this debate, and on all like occasions, the claim is made by those advocating the adoption of "Jim Crow" measures, that so long as equal accommodations are afforded to the Caucasian and negro, the fact that separation is enforced is not to be considered as discriminating against the latter race. But the old proverb runs, "When two ride a horse one must ride behind"; and the common sense of the American people informs them that in this matter the negro is the one who will habitually occupy the rear seat.

No very close observation is required to ascertain the fact that throughout the South the provisions afforded the negro in railway waiting-rooms, platforms, and coaches, as well as upon steamboats and in other public places, are

always of the inferior order. In street-car service the negroes are required to occupy the rear portion of the cars, even when seats are unoccupied in the front, and are cautioned by conspicuous signs against transgressing the stringent rules adopted to enforce separation. An incident which fell under the personal observation of the writer during the past winter in Richmond, Virginia, illustrates the rigor with which separation regulations are enforced, and the contemptuous treatment to which the negro is habitually subjected.

It happened on the return to that city from the Seven Pines battlefield in an ordinary surface car of the trolley line. When the car came within the thickly settled portion of the city it was fairly well filled with white people and negroes. A sign prominently displayed allotted the front of the car to the whites and the rear to the blacks. No special line denoting the point of separation was apparent, but the matter seemed to be generally understood, and the rear of the car was crowded with negroes while several seats were unoccupied in the forward part.

A negro man and woman, apparently husband and wife, entered the car. The man presented the appearance of a prosperous business or professional man. He was a light mulatto, well dressed and dignified in his manner; and his wife, even lighter in complexion than he, tall and dignified in bearing, was, with one exception, easily the best attired and most distinguished-looking woman in the car. Although in general appearance a member of the white race, she was nevertheless compelled by the "Jim Crow" regulations to undergo the humiliation of standing among a crowd of ordinary negro laborers in the rear of the car, debarred by the iron rule of caste from availing herself of one of the unoccupied seats.

Nothing more destructive of the natural pride of an in-

telligent and self-respecting man or woman can be conceived than the treatment to which the better class of negroes in the South are subjected in this ruthless enforcement of the mortifying regulations for the separation of the races. Yet all protest is unavailing. The laws which accomplish this degrading discrimination against the black man are denounced by the enlightened members of his race, but have been steadily upheld by the courts and sanctioned by the Interstate Commerce Commission as constituting proper and reasonable regulations of travel. The negro asserts that these unjust laws result in the dwarfing of the manhood and womanhood of his people, and bitterly denounces the practice of exacting payment for first-class accommodations and then compelling the members of his race, theoretically equal before the law, to submit themselves to such obnoxious requirements.

The Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at Washington, have joined in a complaint to the Interstate Commerce Commission against the unjust discrimination and unlawful treatment meted out to the members of their church by the various railways of the Southern States. Their complaint will be heard, gravely considered, and the action of the railway companies approved upon the theory that if equal accommodations are furnished there is no illegal discrimination. It cannot be otherwise. The fundamental racial instinct for separation is too strong. Never in this country will the whites and the blacks be found enjoying public accommodations upon a plane of equality, where the members of the latter class are sufficiently numerous to make separation feasible.

Closing the chapter with these striking illustrations of the impossibility of harmonizing the relations of the two antagonistic races in our country, we will proceed to consider another and equally interesting phase of the problem.

CHAPTER VI

WHY ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM AT ALL?

Any degree of departure from sound basic principles is as dangerous in governmental affairs as in the exact sciences, and when the departure has gone so far as to demonstrate the error, only the foolish will continue to propagate it. So, when a political error, fundamental in character, has been so far pursued as to demonstrate its certain evil tendency the time is at hand to heroically apply the remedy and avert the impending certain disaster by returning to sound principles.—Congressman J. WARREN KEIFER, of Ohio. Speech in House of Representatives, March 15, 1906.

“**B**UT,” says the reader, “why concern ourselves with any solution of the problem? Our efforts in the past to bring about a settlement of the question cannot be regarded with unalloyed satisfaction. Where we have meddled and interfered and theorized we have generally gone wrong. Why not leave the problem to work itself out? It is not pressing in the North and the South seems to be willing to take care of it.” “What harm,” says my friend to me, “is the negro doing anyhow? If you leave him alone he does not interfere with you, and he certainly is entitled to live and work and to fashion his own destiny. Why all this turmoil, this magazine writing, this persistent discussion up and down the land of the negro problem? Why not leave it alone and let it work itself out?”

Well, in the first place, we simply cannot leave it alone. The fact of the continuance of this interminable discussion, the constant output of books, newspaper editorials and

magazine articles, the negro educational conferences and violent Congressional debates, all indicate that the problem is acute in the public mind and persistently demanding solution.

And so this constant sense of unrest on the subject of the negro denotes the presence of a growing social disease. The really healthy man is not concerned about his health. The organs of his body perform their natural functions so harmoniously as not to attract his attention in the slightest degree. An analogous law prevails in the spiritual world. The man whose life is based upon truth, and whose conduct stands square with principles of rectitude, exhibits no apprehension as to his future spiritual condition. Only when this nation adopts some rational theory for the solution of this apparently inscrutable problem and bends its energies to effect its execution will the present disagreeable and dangerous discussion of the subject cease.

As a matter of fact, in our treatment of the question we have pursued the *laissez-faire* policy from the beginning, and with one exception hereinafter noted no definite national policy has ever been proposed upon the subject. We have simply drifted and temporized, suffered and sacrificed on account of the negro, theorized without acting, until we find ourselves to-day afloat upon the same current of uncertainty, unknowing in what direction we are going or what unforeseen consequences may follow our neglect.

Nothing is more certain than that if this nation is to achieve a destiny commensurate with its illustrious past, some adequate solution of the negro problem must be effected without delay. By postponement, paltering, and disagreement, we but prolong the evil and increase the difficulty of applying the remedy. Such has been our policy, or rather lack of policy, in the past that unless a decided change for the better

be made in this regard nothing but the most disastrous results can be expected to follow our exhibition of optimistic fatalism.

The status of the negro problem at the present time bears great resemblance to that of the question of slavery in the years preceding the Civil War. North and South, radical and conservative, slaveholder and non-slaveholder, fire-eater and abolitionist, differed and wrangled for decades as to the course to be pursued in regard to that institution, the result being that the problem year by year darkened and became more difficult of peaceful solution, until war as the inevitable result was invoked to effect a separation of irreconcilable interests. Under this impracticable, vacillating policy, settlement after settlement was announced, each one intended finally to dispose of the vexatious subject. Compromises, constitutional and unconstitutional, political and non-political, were effected, each believed to be the veritable burial-place of the question. And yet, after each settlement, the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery broke out in fiercer form, and after each compromise all parties found that inconvenience had been endured and rights had been bartered away, only to leave the final adjustment of the problem more pressing than ever and the possibility of peaceful solution more remote.

And so will it be with this problem which is the subject of our thought. We need but to turn back to the literature of the period succeeding the war and there to read the hopeful prognostications of the leaders of political thought of that era, to see how little of their hope has been realized and how much of unexpected disappointment has occurred, and to appreciate that whatever apparent progress has been made towards the amelioration of the condition of the negro but little progress has been made in the direction of a solution of the problem. On this subject our thoughts are

disorganized, disagreeing, ineffectual, chaotic. No adequate plan has been formed for the solution of the problem, and yet we simply cannot leave the question alone.

Now, secondly, even if we could leave the problem alone, it is our duty to ourselves and to the negro race to take im-

Urgent mediate steps to remedy the present situation.
Reasons. The presence of a great number of people of the negro race in this country, living under the conditions depicted in the foregoing chapters and under other conditions, social and political, to be discussed in following pages, is a continual detriment to the nation and a drawback to its development.

First: To begin with, physically the negro is an injurious element in the state. Living, as he ordinarily does, a debased life, usually in degrading surroundings, he is a persistent breeder of disease and is in many ways instrumental in lowering our physical condition. The negroes in the South wash the clothing of the whites and prepare their food, and in this way tuberculosis and other contagious diseases are frequently transmitted. To quote from the essay of Dr. Bean on the training of the negro:

They tend our children, and not only convey the great white plague, but worse still, by intimate contact they affect the morals of the young. As washerwomen they contaminate our clothes. They are foci of infection in any community.

And to any discerning mind it must be apparent beyond question that the presence of so many individuals living under inferior physical conditions cannot but be detrimental to the welfare of the nation.

Beyond the physical effects, wherever they are found in great numbers they constitute an injury to the property interests of the section. So much so is this the case that in many Western towns and cities, notably in Indiana, Illinois,

and Missouri, negroes are relentlessly excluded from the community, and if any of the race attempt to settle they are immediately ordered to depart. Out of all proportion to their numbers in Northern communities they are a charge upon the public in prisons, hospitals, almshouses, and insane asylums. The criminal statistics of the race are made the subject of discussion in another part of this chapter, and in themselves demonstrate the injury inflicted upon the commonwealth by this inferior race.

The negro occupies the lowest of all positions in the industrial world. To the workingman in the North endeavoring to elevate himself, to dignify his work, to provide for his family, and to support it in becoming American fashion, the presence of numbers of unskilled negroes is a perpetual menace. In all uncivilized or partially civilized communities the great burden of labor is imposed upon women and children, and it is common knowledge that in our Northern cities many of the negro men who do obtain precarious employment are supported in whole or in part by the earnings of their women and children.

We have heretofore remarked in our discussion how difficult it is for the negro to gain employment in any lucrative position, North or South. This very fact constitutes the race a threatening element toward that class of the white laboring population whose energies must be directed toward unskilled employments affording only a bare subsistence, and which by the competition of a less independent and more needy race must find increasing difficulty in securing a livelihood.

Wherever in an unskilled occupation a strike occurs, and for the purpose of coercing recalcitrant laborers bands of strike breakers are organized, the negro is constantly resorted to for this disreputable employment.

In an article in *Charities*, October, 1905, will be found a

discussion of the subject of the use of the negro as an instrument in the hands of unscrupulous employers of labor for the purpose of depressing wages and increasing hours of labor, which should be instructive to the negro as well as to the white man in unskilled occupation. The writer tells of the attempt to supplant white with black labor in Illinois labor conflicts and the evil effects resulting therefrom to both races. As to the negro, he ends by saying:

Yet it still remains that in times of industrial peace the more desirable places are closed against negroes, either because the employers will not hire them or the men will not work with them.

The conditions under which the great majority of the negro race live, the handicap imposed upon them by their color, the implacable hostility which they encounter in their endeavors to compete industrially with the white man, their exclusion from the labor unions, all combine to constitute them a class apart in the realm of productive activity, and to compel them to accept the most meagre wages for their unskilled efforts, and in like manner to accommodate themselves to the lowest scale of living.

Given thus a great mass of despised, unskilled negro men and women, residing in a community either urban or rural, engaged in the more undesirable occupations, without hope of social or industrial advancement, and of necessity ready to accept employment at any price at any time, and you have a stumbling-block in the path of every workingman endeavoring to better his condition, and a serious menace to the security of the community in which they exist. Their pressing needs require them to sacrifice everything to the necessity of the moment, and to reduce their living demands to the lowest amount indispensable to maintain a bare existence. There are certainly enough white men in our great

cities and industrial communities who are forced by their needs to accept disagreeable occupations at small wages to render the existence of a more menial class absolutely unnecessary. The only progress which society can make on its industrial side is effected by the gradual elevation of the worthy members of the lower labor class into higher employment, and this can be accomplished only where the way is open to each individual to gain by his exertions a higher position in the industrial world.

In his thoughtful work upon organized labor (page 116) John Mitchell thus sets forth the American standard of living for unskilled workmen, and the minimum wage upon which this standard can be maintained:

The American Standard of living. In cities of from five thousand to one hundred thousand inhabitants the American standard of living should mean to the ordinary unskilled workman with an average family, a comfortable house of at least six rooms. It should mean a bath room, good sanitary plumbing, a parlor, dining room, kitchen, and sufficient sleeping room that decency may be preserved and a reasonable degree of comfort maintained. The American standard of living should mean to the unskilled workman, carpets, pictures, books and furniture with which to make home bright, comfortable and attractive for himself and his family; an ample supply of clothing, suitable for winter and summer, and above all a sufficient quantity of good, wholesome, nourishing food at all times of the year. The American standard of living, moreover, should mean to the unskilled workman that his children be kept in school until they have attained the age of sixteen at least, and that he be enabled to lay by sufficient to maintain himself and his family in times of illness or at the close of his industrial life, when age and weakness render further work impossible,

and to make provision for his family against his premature death from accident or otherwise.

Further, Mr. Mitchell says (page 117):

The American as a practical business man always asks what a desired innovation will cost, and until he hears the price reserves his opinion as to whether a thing is utopian or a practical idea. What wages, therefore, are necessary to maintain the American standard? This question was put to me by the attorneys for the coal company during the sessions of the Anthracite Coal Commission, and at that time I said that the very least upon which an unskilled workman could maintain a desirable standard of living was six hundred dollars per year.

In further discussion Mr. Mitchell notes the difference in living expenses between great cities and rural communities, but generally speaking fixes the above as the lowest admissible standard of American living, and six hundred dollars as the minimum annual wage by which it can be maintained.

In a discussion in Congress of the bill regulating the salaries of letter-carriers, on February 20, 1907, the Hon. Herbert Parsons of New York said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Some time ago, at my request, a carrier in New York City furnished me the following itemized statement of the cost of living expenses for himself, wife, and three children. He lived on the fifth floor of a ten-family house, and spent the following amounts:

	Per year
Rent.....	\$252.00
Gas.....	42.00
Coal.....	36.00
Ice.....	12.00
Insurance and dues.....	108.00

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	Per year
Wearing apparel (all kinds).....	120.00
Doctor and medicines.....	36.00
Household expenses, furniture, and bedding.....	24.00
Food, meats, and groceries.....	360.00
Additional expenses not included in foregoing.....	10.00

Total.....	\$1000.00

The foregoing leaves no allowance for an extended sickness or loss of salary while sick. In the item of wearing apparel is included the cost of uniform, etc. Insurance is a recognized necessity to provide against death.

In the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, published in 1903, the average expenditure of a family consisting of man, wife, and three children the country over was estimated to be:

	Per year
Rent.....	\$113.16
Fuel.....	28.88
Lighting.....	6.46
Clothing.....	81.09
Sundries.....	117.96
Food.....	283.61

Total.....	\$631.16

Can any one contend that this standard of living is too high? Are the conditions depicted by Mr. Mitchell too luxurious for an American citizen and his family? Is the sum of twelve dollars per week, with a two weeks' vacation each year, an exorbitant wage to be demanded by a self-respecting working-man? And yet what proportion of the negroes in Northern communities approach even this minimum standard? For in just the measure in which the negroes fall below the con-

ditions required for the maintenance of an honorable position do those of the white race higher in the scale find their difficulty in maintaining their standard of living and securing the desired comforts for themselves and their families increased. This negro element in the North, slight as it is, enhances the difficulty of maintaining a suitable standard of living among the white people, and results in an appreciable lowering of the dignity of unskilled labor by its lower standards and unremitting competition.

The negro is found constantly employed in the lowest, most menial, and distasteful of occupations. The vulgar phrase so frequently employed in declining any disagreeable occupation, that such work is "fit for a nigger," is indicative of the popular view of his position and capacity. The negro accepts servile occupation with an appearance of contentment and, indeed, satisfaction, and performs work obnoxious to any self-respecting white man at a minimum figure, compelled by his necessities to this course. Now, it is unavoidable that in every community much service of undesirable character must be performed, but honest labor of any kind, even of the character of personal attendance, may be dignified if done in a dignified manner and for suitable compensation.

It is not so long ago that the nursing of the sick for hire in cases of contagious disease was regarded as a disreputable occupation, but to-day the badge and white cap of the trained nurse carry with them the suggestion of invaluable services rendered in an honorable vocation. Call a man a "scavenger," pay him poorly, overwork him, and keep him in noxious surroundings, and you make him an object of contempt; place him in the Street Cleaning Department, with a neat uniform, on a liberal pay-roll, protected by civil-service laws, assured of permanent tenure and respectful treatment, and his position becomes invested with qualities of dignity.

We thus see how the existence of this element of unskilled, thriftless, and improvident negro labor operates as a serious drawback to that advancement of wages and living conditions in which lies the greatest hope for the establishment of an educated, industrious, self-respecting citizenship throughout our country.

Second: Nor is this all. The moral aspect of the matter remains to be considered. The effect of the presence of the negro, North and South, as an influence in the moral development of our people is not so immediately apparent as is the detrimental effect which he exercises upon the industrial organization of the country. And yet to those endowed with an accurate conception of what constitutes the reasonable standard of ethics in our nation there must be a keen comprehension of the lowering of the standard of national morality, as well as dignity, which follows of necessity from the presence of a numerous element of ignorant and debased persons displaying a high rate of criminality.

It is necessary at this point to say a few plain words upon the subject of the criminal record of the negro. In order that no statements merely of conjectural character may be advanced, the discussion will be strictly confined to the statistics found in the *Special Report of Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions, 1904*, published by the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor, S. N. D. North, Director, 1907.

At page 17 appears the following table:

The Negro Problem

TABLE VIII.

PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION, BY COLOR, OF PRISONERS ENUMERATED, JUNE 30, 1904, AND OF GENERAL POPULATION, 1900, FOR STATES AND TERRITORIES.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PRISONERS ENUMERATED, JUNE 30, 1904.		GENERAL POPULATION: 1900.	
	Per cent. white	Per cent. colored	Per cent. white	Per cent. colored
Continental United States.....	67.4	32.6	87.9	12.1
North Atlantic division.	88.9	11.1	98.1	1.9
Maine.....	98.4	1.6	99.7	0.3
New Hampshire.....	98.8	1.2	99.8	0.2
Vermont.....	95.6	4.4	99.7	0.3
Massachusetts....	96.4	3.6	98.7	1.3
Rhode Island....	91.7	8.3	97.8	2.2
Connecticut.....	92.9	7.1	98.2	1.8
New York.....	92.1	7.9	98.5	1.5
New Jersey.....	78.5	21.5	96.2	3.8
Pennsylvania....	78.9	21.1	97.5	2.5
South Atlantic division.	25.6	74.4	64.2	35.8
Delaware.....	41.3	58.8	83.4	16.6
Maryland.....	40.2	59.8	80.2	19.8
District of Columbia.....	(1)	(1)	68.7	31.3
Virginia.....	21.2	78.8	64.3	35.7
West Virginia..	47.0	53.0	95.5	4.5
North Carolina..	22.7	77.3	66.7	33.3
South Carolina..	13.6	86.4	41.6	58.4
Georgia.....	21.1	78.9	53.3	46.7
Florida.....	11.3	88.7	56.3	43.7
North Central division.....	79.5	20.5	97.9	2.1
Ohio.....	77.8	22.2	97.7	2.3
Indiana.....	80.4	19.6	97.7	2.3
Illinois.....	80.2	19.8	98.2	1.8
Michigan.....	93.1	6.9	99.1	0.9
Wisconsin.....	96.0	4.0	99.5	0.5

¹ Per cent. not shown where basis is less than 100.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PRISONERS ENUMERATED, JUNE 30, 1904.		GENERAL POPULATION: 1900.	
	Per cent. white	Per cent. colored	Per cent. white	Per cent. colored
Minnesota.....	93.3	6.7	99.2	0.8
Iowa.....	90.1	9.9	99.4	0.6
Missouri.....	62.7	37.3	94.8	5.2
North Dakota..	97.5	2.5	97.7	2.3
South Dakota...	88.6	11.4	94.8	5.2
Nebraska.....	82.9	17.1	99.1	0.9
Kansas.....	66.7	33.3	96.3	3.7
South Central division.....	29.7	70.3	69.7	30.3
Kentucky.....	41.6	58.4	86.7	13.3
Tennessee.....	30.0	70.0	76.2	23.8
Alabama.....	13.1	86.9	54.7	45.3
Mississippi.....	9.2	90.8	41.3	58.7
Louisiana.....	19.3	80.7	52.8	47.2
Texas.....	40.7	59.3	79.6	20.4
Indian Territory.....			77.2	22.8
Oklahoma.....	(1)	(1)	92.3	7.7
Arkansas.....	28.4	71.6	72.0	28.0

¹ Per cent. not shown where basis is less than 100.

The statistics of the Western division are omitted as not bearing on the question, and among "colored" are included a few Indians and Mongolians, not numerous enough, however, perceptibly to affect the result, being less than one-half of one per cent. in the states contained in the table.

From the foregoing table the following facts appear:

1. In the country at large the criminality of the negro as contrasted with that of the white man is nearly three times greater, the exact figures being 32.6 per cent. to 12.1 per cent. In commenting on this subject the director says:

Since at the census of 1900 the whites formed 87.9 per cent. of the general population and the colored 12.1 per cent., it is evident that the colored furnish a disproportionately large part of the prisoners. For each state

and territory, with the exception of Arizona, the percentage of colored among the prisoners is in excess of the percentage that the colored formed of the total population. A reason frequently given for this relative preponderance of colored prisoners is that the colored are too impecunious to buy their liberty when a fine is imposed for a minor criminal offence, while the whites avail themselves freely of this opportunity. Such an explanation cannot be applied to the statistics in this report, since persons serving time for non-payment of fines were not enumerated.

When we take into consideration that in the South minor crimes against property and the person perpetrated by negroes among themselves are rarely made the occasion of imprisonment, the showing of proportionate criminality is even more startling than the percentage would indicate.

2. The highest ratio of negro criminality is found where the negro element bears the smallest proportion to the rest of the population. Selecting for comparison a tier of Northern States extending from Maine to Nebraska, the proportion of negroes in the population is found to be 0.99; the per cent. of negro criminals in prison 10.74. In other words, in this great district of intelligence and prosperity the negro furnishes less than one per cent. of the population but produces nearly eleven per cent. of the crime.

3. The ratio of negro criminality to that among whites increases in a general way with the decrease of negro illiteracy. Comparing the foregoing table with that found on page 60, showing the percentage of illiteracy among negroes, this general rule appears. For example, contrast Ohio and Louisiana. In the former state the percentage of negro illiterates is 17.8, in the latter 61.1; but in the former in proportion to relative population nearly ten times as many crimes are committed by negroes, in the latter only four times as many. A careful study of the two tables discloses

as a matter of cold statistics that as the education of the negro progresses his criminal record grows darker. It is significant to note that the percentage of illiteracy (*Report*, page 58) among the negro prisoners is 31.4 per cent., as against a general illiteracy of the race of 44.5 per cent. These figures afford some basis for the assertion so commonly made that as the negro acquires education and opportunity his criminal instincts invariably develop. Such a deduction is, however, unwarranted, so many other elements enter into this phase of the subject.

4. The figures of the table exhibit a disproportionate increase of negro criminality in recent years. Although the percentage of negroes to total population fell from 11.9 in 1890 to 11.6 in 1900, the percentage of criminals increased from 30.4 in 1890 to 32.6 in 1904. On this point the director says:

In 1890 the percentage of whites among prisoners was 69.6, and of colored 30.4. When these percentages are compared with the corresponding percentages for 1904 it is seen that the proportion of colored among prisoners has increased perceptibly.

The table of persons committed for crime during the year 1904 (*Report*, page 39) presents substantially the same condition of negro criminality, the proportion for major offences being 68.5 per cent. for the whites and 31.5 for the colored, who are nearly all negroes.

And yet in the face of this remarkable array of figures it may well be doubted whether, after all, the negro is naturally and of choice a criminal. Certainly under normal conditions his instincts do not appear to incline him in that direction. His poverty, but not his will, consents.

The circumstances in which he finds himself placed, his heritage of vice and ignorance, the impossibility of advancing

himself in steady and honorable occupation, and above all the absolute futility of any successful effort toward social advancement, together tend to thrust the negro into the criminal classes of the country. The wonder is that under the circumstances his record is so good, which can be ascribed only to the fact that he is not naturally inclined to serious infractions of the criminal code; only the harsh necessities of his ever-present condition of poverty and social isolation drive him to desperate measures.

As these lines are being penned my eyes fall on the account in a New York morning newspaper of the murder of a policeman in that city by a wretched, vagrant, West Indian negro. Impelled by hunger and disease, an outcast from society, without hope or opportunity, the slayer might well say,

I am one

So weary with disasters, tugg'd with fortune,
That I would set my life on any chance
To mend it or be rid on't.

In this frame of mind he snatches a woman's pocket-book and endeavors to escape. Pursued, in a frenzy of terror he draws the ever-ready revolver, and we have the results of a valuable life lost to the community, a family bereaved, a stain on the city's name, the expense of trial and conviction of the criminal, his subsequent support by the community, all following from a disregard of rational methods of dealing with the race to which he belongs.

Statistics are from time to time advanced to establish the fact that with education and superior property advantages the negro is becoming comparatively free from crime. President Booker T. Washington prides himself that out of the thousands of graduates of his renowned institution but four have a State Prison record, and other educational institutions of the higher class present like statistics. No

opportunity of verifying these figures exists, and it may be assumed that they are measurably correct in regard to the institutions to which they relate.

Yet the fact remains that the great mass of the race, North and South, exhibits a dark record of criminality. The effect of thus having in the community a distinct class with pronounced criminal activities and defective moral education, whose men are popularly supposed to be venal at the polls and addicted to petty larceny in daily life, and whose women are, in like manner, deemed to be ignorant of the qualities of personal chastity, is in itself calculated to produce the gravest deterioration in the moral standards of the community where such class exists. We cannot have among us a people whose honesty, chastity, and general morality are the subject of daily jest without in some considerable measure sharing their degradation. At first thought this may seem to be a somewhat exaggerated phase of the question, but observation of the daily records of our police courts, of the intimate association of negroes with blackmailing projects, race tracks, gambling houses, and other disreputable haunts where immorality prevails, will, it is believed, justify in the mind of the attentive observer the strength of this statement.

Third: Another reason why the agitation of the question at the present juncture must be considered timely is that at no other period in the history of our country have the general conditions been so favorable for the solution of the problem. We are at peace with all the world, and with wise statesmanship are likely so to remain. We are, taking the broad view of the time, upon a tide of material prosperity of which there is no likelihood of an immediate ebb. The national treasury shows year by year a surplus of money raised by taxation, and has at times tested the ingenuity of our legislators for its depletion. Throughout the country at the present time

The
Timeliness
of the
Discussion.

there is no other equally momentous question engrossing the attention of the people to prevent the full and generous consideration of the negro problem.

Forty-five years of experiment on the lines adopted by the statesmen who controlled the nation after the Civil War have proved their plan inadequate to work out a solution. But that period has not passed without affording important lessons, and was a necessary preliminary to our present more accurate understanding of the gravity and difficulty of the problem. The plan of solution proposed by Lincoln, and later elaborated in this work, might have been found impracticable forty years ago by reason of the lack of development of the negro at that time and of the inadequacy of our resources to carry it into operation; forty years from now, for reasons yet to be considered, reasons which it is confidently believed will demonstrate that the present is the auspicious moment for action, it may well be impossible of execution.

Fourth: But above and beyond all these reasons, in themselves sufficient to justify a present agitation of the question, remains the further reason that the existence of the problem in its present unsolved condition menaces the safety of our country at home and robs it of dignity abroad. The unsolved negro question is the sole remaining obstacle which obstructs the fullest and most complete understanding between the Northern and Southern sections of this country, and compels their unnatural division upon political lines. It is this which renders the South now, as it was a hundred years ago and has ever since continued to be, a separate, distinct, and isolated section of our land. In view of so much having been said during past years upon the complete reconciliation of the sections and the forgetfulness of former strife, let us see what are the real facts in this regard.

When we hear a person constantly and obtrusively pro-

claim the fact that he is a gentleman, we instinctively begin to entertain suspicions as to his ability to justify his assertion. Where we find individuals continually asseverating that in their conduct they are actuated only by the loftiest purposes and by a desire to promote the welfare of others, we are inclined, at least, to reserve our judgment as to their motives until we observe some tangible result in harmony with their high professions. And similarly, when upon every occasion of the meeting of representative Northern and Southern men it is found necessary to have recourse to the time-worn expressions of "devotion at the altar of our common country," "the emulation existing in the furtherance of the growth of the fraternal spirit between the formerly discordant sections," "the disappearance of the sectional spirit," and numerous expressions of similar import, we are forced to the conclusion that somewhere in our present relations there exists a conscious flaw which renders these professions necessary, and which mars the perfect reconciliation of the North and South.

What, then, is this underlying fact which continues the South in a false relation to the other sections of the country, and isolates it in policies and sentiment from the residue of the nation? Why is it necessary to treat this favored and historic section almost as foreign soil, differing in thought, commercial interest, and social organization from the regions of the North and West? The answer is simple,—“The existence of the negro problem.”

A striking illustration of this false attitude of the South towards the great economic questions of the day is to be found in the relation of its political leaders towards the proposition advanced by many thoughtful minds that the National Government should acquire and operate, or at least supervise, the great railway systems of the country. Scarcely a more

The
Isolation
of the
South.

important question engrosses public attention, and the merits and demerits of such a plan offer the widest field for honest difference of opinion among reasoning men. But the proposition can command no enlightening discussion in the former slaveholding states for the reason, frankly stated, that the proposed plan of government ownership and operation would involve the abandonment of separate cars for persons of negro origin on all railway lines in that section, and lead to the appointment by the National Government of negro train officials. The mild advocacy of such a measure by one of the most prominent leaders of a great political party threatened for a time to destroy his chances for another nomination as a Presidential candidate, so deep-seated are the objections of the South even to the consideration of the measure.

The nine million of ignorant and despised persons of negro blood residing in the Southern States make it now impossible for the white people of that section to form a component part of the homogeneous American people, and will in the future continue to impel them to different feelings, divergent interests, and an antagonistic development. This manifests itself in a thousand different ways.

Even while these lines are being written an unseemly wrangle, miscalled a debate, upon the subject of the negro occupies **Sectional** for days the attention of the United States Senate. **Strife.** It is hard to conceive a more deplorable spectacle than that of the highest legislative chamber of our country, chosen by the people for the purpose of framing wise and necessary laws to regulate the affairs of this progressive nation, devoting its time to a recriminatory discussion conducted upon the lowest plane, and relating to trivial incidents, inconsiderable except by their relation to the negro problem. And yet thus it has been since the formation of our government; in the Senate and House, in convention and on

the stump, in party platforms and presidential messages, the negro, his attributes, and his prospects have ever been the staple subject of discussion in this country; the cause of sectional feeling, endless wrangling, brutality, vituperation, and assault.

Only two years ago the nation witnessed an exhibition of sectional ill feeling spring up between Massachusetts and Virginia over the race question in its relation to discrimination against negroes at the Yorktown celebration, and the mere suggestion that the President might bestow a minor office in the customs service upon an Ohio negro threatened to kindle anew the interminable discussion of the policy or impolicy of such appointments which agitated the whole South in the Indianola and Charleston cases. Regrettable as it may be, there never can be a sincere and enduring reconciliation between the North and South so long as the present condition of the negro problem continues to vex our national existence.

Fifth: Another consideration of serious moment bearing upon the necessity for the present adjustment of this problem, is the injurious effect which our incapacity properly to deal with the subject has upon our standing as a nation throughout the world.

The Honorable James Bryce, our highly esteemed Ambassador from England, took occasion, at the dinner given to him by the Pilgrim Society at the Savoy Hotel in London last winter, to comment upon the **Impairment of National Influence.** during friendship existing between the two nations, and to extol this country as the largest and wealthiest of all civilized communities, commenting upon the respect which our institutions everywhere enjoy. In our international relations we have always established and maintained the highest standard of justice and fair dealing; and yet everywhere a note of distrust as to our sincerity creeps in when

our treatment of the negro is made the subject of discussion. Therein lies our weakness.

The enlightened statesmen of other lands are familiar with the character of this problem and are likewise familiar with the terrible failure which we have made in our endeavors to find a solution. It is the one breakdown of our democratic theory, the glaring disappointment in our hopeful national career. Of what avail are our professions of democratic equality, of the fair and undiscriminating administration of our laws throughout the land, when our leading journals are daily called upon to report atrocities perpetrated upon unoffending citizens, akin to those which excited the horror of European peoples against the unspeakable Turk?

We may illustrate by introducing here the description of an event unfortunately too common in character in this country to call for more than a passing newspaper notice. There is here presented as it appeared in November, 1906, a plain, unadorned newspaper story:

NEGRO RUNS AMUCK; KILLS FIVE

JOHN A. ROEBLING HEADS POSSE IN SEARCH FOR ASHEVILLE
MURDERER

Asheville, N. C., Nov. 14.—Five men were killed and several others were shot early this morning by a negro named Harvey, who started a disturbance in the negro quarter known as Hell's Half Acre.

The dead are Charles R. Blackstock and J. W. Bailey, white policemen, and Benjamin Addison, Tom Neal and J. Corpening, negroes. The most seriously injured are J. T. Page, a white policeman; Tom Rivers and Toney Johnson, negroes.

Harris was armed with a rifle and ran through the
Harvey

streets shooting at everybody in sight. The trouble began over a woman.

The murderer escaped.

Chief of Police Bernard ordered the fire bell rung and hundreds of men turned out to search for the murderer. The chief ordered hardware stores broken open to get arms and ammunition.

The search continued through the night without avail. More trouble was feared this morning, so Mayor Barnard ordered all saloons closed. A special meeting of the Aldermen was held, extra police were called out, and mass meetings of both whites and blacks were held.

The negroes issued a statement through the Rev. J. W. McDuffy, rector of St. Matthias' Church, in which they said that members of their race stood ready to aid in running down the murderer. The negroes have formed posses to aid in the search.

Men have been scouring the mountains with bloodhounds. The estate of George W. Vanderbilt, where the negro was reported to be this morning, was searched. John A. Roebling of New York led a posse through the mountains in the direction of Alexander, where the negro was reported to have been seen.

All day armed men have been patrolling the streets.

The next day:

NEGRO DIES FIGHTING MOB

ASHEVILLE MURDERER LEADS 500 MEN TEN-MILE CHASE,
THEN, BACK TO A TREE, OPENS FIRE

Asheville, N. C., Nov. 15.—James Harvey, the negro who murdered two policemen and three negroes here Tuesday morning, was shot to death by a mob of 500 near Fletcher, ten miles south of Asheville.

The negro was tracked through the snow to Buenavista,

where he had gone into a stable. Later he was seen running toward Fletcher.

The mob chased him through the mountains for ten miles or more. Harvey would turn at intervals and fire at his followers, and many shots were exchanged.

When the mob began to close on him he took his stand against a tree and fell while shooting.

The negro's dead body was brought to Asheville this afternoon in a wagon by a mob of armed men, who were loudly cheered by the people. The body was placed on exhibition.

These revolting occurrences took place at Asheville, North Carolina, a city having a population of about fifteen thousand, five thousand of whom are negroes. They occurred in a city of fine business streets, great hotels, electric cars, and many of the refinements of modern civilization, and not in the mountains of Armenia, upon the Siberian plains, or in the swamps of the Congo. The incident elicits no special comment, passing as an ordinary event of life in the United States.

In a succeeding chapter the question of lynching will be discussed in its relation to this problem, but for the present purpose it suffices to say, that so long as within recent years a score of innocent, unoffending citizens can be massacred in the streets of Atlanta and no effort be made to secure the punishment of those known to be guilty of the murderous offences; when military organizations are called to Kemper County, Mississippi, to restore order after ten or twelve black men have perished in what is called a race war, and again no steps are taken to punish the murderers; so long as from day to day reports are published of similar enormities occurring throughout the Southern section of the country,—it ill becomes our public authorities to remonstrate with the Czar on account of the massacres of the Jew-

ish population at Kisheneff, or to join in the protest to King Leopold of Belgium relative to the so-called Congo atrocities.

No wonder the India Brahman told the Reverend Dr. R. S. MacArthur, of Calvary Baptist Church, New York, on the occasion of his recent visit to Calcutta, to tell "your missionaries to go home and teach your American savages to observe religion and law. Yours is the only country that burns men at the stake." Assuredly, our spirit of American boastfulness must take serious pause when we consider our national situation in regard to this negro question, and read of the frequent barbarities visited upon this generally inoffensive and unresisting people, of which the hangings, burnings, and banishments of Springfield, Illinois, last summer, furnish the most recent example.

When we raise our voice in favor of the oppressed in any other land, what moral force can we bring to the subject, what influence can we hope to command? Will not the answer invariably be, "Look at your own treatment of the negro"? And had the nation as many mouths as Hydra that answer would stop them all. No; the presence of the negro problem unsolved deprives our republican example of all just influence throughout the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us with hypocrisy and incapacity for honest dealing; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and gives to every man who appreciates the meaning of the vast difference between our professions and our practices a feeling of humiliation at the lack of intelligence and capacity which we have thus far exhibited in dealing with this subject.

Despite the numerous wars of the past decades and the newspaper predictions of the imminency of future conflicts, the spirit of the nations is inclined toward peace. In the great developments of that spirit of concord this country

must in the future take a leading part. In the substitution of the principle of arbitration in place of war, in the coming voluntary or involuntary reduction of armaments, and in the introduction of the principle of federation among the nations, our numbers, wealth, and spiritual development should enable us to assume a natural hegemony.

But so long as our treatment of the negro race is stamped by the injustice to which the black man is everywhere subjected throughout the land, so long will our moral influence among the nations suffer impairment, and we shall fall correspondingly short of capacity for achievement. The nation, as well as the individual seeking to invoke the jurisdiction of an equitable forum, must approach the tribunal with unstained hands.

BOOK II
The Proposed Solutions

CHAPTER I

THE SOLUTION OF THE SOUTH

There can be no place for a disfranchised peasantry in the United States.—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

At the South the whole community is cut in twain along the color line; only at the bottom, among the shadows of crime, do the races mingle; in real life their bond is becoming more and more purely economic, at the top among the better elements of both races there is little communication.—PROFESSOR W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS.

The Southern white men and women who have for forty years resisted in every possible way this doctrine of the equality of the races are just as resolved now as they have always been not to submit to it or its results. They are resolved to maintain control of their State governments and to prevent in every way possible social and political equality, with the inevitable destruction of their civilization which would follow if they yielded. The conditions are growing more and more aggravated every day. Race antagonism increases in intensity. Are things to drift until direful tragedies multiply on every hand and blood shall flow like water? Is the statesmanship of our time inadequate to cope with this question, just as the statesmanship of 1860 failed to prevent the dire catastrophe of civil war? That war was fought to settle the race question, but forty years after its termination we find conditions more threatening in some of their aspects than they were in 1861.—SENATOR BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, Speech in U. S. Senate, January 12, 1907.

CONSIDERING for a moment the perilous gravity of the problem hereinbefore outlined, our first impression would naturally be that an imperative demand for its immediate solution would long since have arisen,

yet perhaps the most striking feature which characterizes the interminable discussion of the negro question is the absolute inconclusiveness of the disputation as to any practical result.

In his work, *The Future in America* (1906), Professor H. G. Wells thus states the impression received by him of the utter lack of intelligent comprehension of the importance of the question:

I have attempted time after time to get some answer from the Americans I have met, to what is to me the most obvious of questions. Your grandchildren and the grandchildren of these people will have to live in this country side by side: do you propose, do you believe it possible, that under the increasing pressure of population and competition they should be living then in just the same relations that you and these people are living now; and if you do not, what relations do you propose shall exist between them?

It is not too much to say that I have never once had the beginnings of an answer to this question.

The failure of the numerous essayists upon the subject to propose any adequate remedy for the admitted evil, or, indeed, to agree upon any line of conduct in relation to it, is a remarkable characteristic of this persistent controversy. In the midst of a wilderness of words, words, words, we find no path pointed out by which we may reach a clear understanding of the probable resultant of the contending forces now at work in shaping a solution.

A few citations from the writings of some of those who have given the subject careful study, and thus earned a right to be considered as authorities, will serve to illustrate this lack of suggestion of a definite remedy. They comprise (1) a practical Southerner; (2) a Northern idealist; (3) the leader of the negro race; (4) a scientific student of the problem.

(1) Thomas Nelson Page, an earnest student of the problem from the Southerner's view-point, commendably fair in treatment and possessed of unusual opportunities to reach a practical conclusion, has only this to say (*The Negro the Southerner's Problem*, p. 286):

The question is often asked, "Now that the race problem in the South has been laid down and discussed, what solution of it do you offer—what have you to propose to ameliorate the conditions which have grown out of that problem?" The answer is simple. None, but to leave it to work itself out along the lines of economic laws, with such aid as may be rendered by an enlightened public spirit and a broad-minded patriotism.

He follows this suggestion, or rather want of suggestion, with a long discussion of abstractions, leaving the problem as solutionless as though he had been engaged in the investigation of a purely unrelated topic. Recurring to the subject again, on page 298, he adds this oracular observation:

In the first place, it seems to me that our plain duty is to do the best we can, to act with justice and a broad charity, and leave the consequences to God.

We may indeed well stand astounded at such an easy disposition of this question of two centuries' standing. But the old saying that "God helps those who help themselves" probably did not occur to the talented author in connection with his remark.

(2) The late Carl Schurz, a man who had enjoyed the amplest opportunity to familiarize himself with this subject in all its relations, and who was by nature, experience, and education well qualified to discuss the problem, contributed a long and carefully prepared article to a prominent magazine shortly before his lamented death, in which, after an

historical review of the causes from which this dark problem has originated, and after indulging in the usual appeal to the South to be generous and chivalric, and to avail itself of the integrity, ability, usefulness, and general good citizenship which might be cultivated among the blacks, and with an earnest recommendation to the North to extend with equal generosity its assistance to the South in carrying on a systematic campaign of education among the negro masses, he says, at the conclusion of his article:

Will it then be said that what I offer is more a diagnosis than a definite remedy? It may appear so, but this is one of the problems which defy complete solution and can only be rendered less troublesome. It can certainly not be entirely and conclusively solved by any drastic course of treatment which might rather serve to irritate than to cure. What is done by legislation can easily be undone by legislation, and is therefore liable to become subject to chances of party warfare. The slow processes of propitiating public sentiment, while trying, are definite, and promise after all the most desirable results.

Thus, in substance, the doctor, after his careful diagnosis, has no remedy to offer, and contents himself with the simple expression of his hope that the patient may recover.

(3) President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, who has made the question the subject of solicitous study throughout his working life, and who from the negro's point of view is certainly one of the best qualified members of his race to suggest a definite solution, is equally inconclusive in his discussion. In his work upon the *Future of the American Negro* he treats the subject exhaustively, leading up with a series of warnings to the members of his race as to the methods which are to be avoided in connection with the

problem, and then leaves the ultimate solution in the same misty, nebulous condition in which he found it, saying (page 214):

As to the policy that should be pursued in the larger sense,—on this subject I claim to possess no superior wisdom or unusual insight. I may be wrong; I may be in some degree right.

In the future, more than in the past, we want to impress upon the negro the importance of identifying himself more closely with the interests of the South,—the importance of making himself part of the South and at home in it.

Page 231:

To state in detail just what place the black man will occupy in the South as a citizen when he has developed in the direction named, is beyond the wisdom of any one.

(4) Professor Eastman, after 400 pages of elaborate discussion of the origin, nature, capacity, and condition of the negro, has only this to offer (*The Negro, His Origin, History, and Destiny*, p. 441):

The world stands back in awe of the great problem, "What is the future of the Negro Race in America?" There was a great lack of statesmanship, we think, in thrusting full citizenship upon them without preparation; and it would seem that no statesman is now far-seeing enough to solve the problem which confronts the American people,—the greatest that ever will be brought forth for solution;—but,

"There 's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we may."

Citations might be multiplied indefinitely from the pages of the dissertations with which the public has been sought to be instructed upon the subject from various standpoints,

their most striking feature being the nearly universal failure even to suggest any feasible remedy for the admitted evil.

And yet, from time to time there come suggestions of solution, often unfriendly, usually indefinite and impracticable, and yet indicative of the public spirit which is groping in darkness toward the light. Let us, therefore, turn for a moment to discuss some of the plans which have been proposed to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

First: Rarely at the present time is any solution of the problem seriously suggested based upon the amalgamation or blending of the races. Such a proposition meets no favor with the Caucasian, and the negro feels that its advocacy by him would only generate fiercer hostility toward the members of his race. Immediately after the close of the Civil War a few advanced protagonists of the cause of the negro, among whom may be mentioned Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass, indulged in the prophecy that by way of amalgamation the solution would be reached. Experience, however, based on the passing of time, gives no indication of a tendency in this direction.

The census reports indicate a decreasing ratio of the number of mulattoes as compared with full-blooded blacks, and intermarriages between the races, stringently prohibited in the South, are exceedingly rare in other sections of the country. Whatever commingling of blood occurs is of an illicit character, and the fact may be now deemed well established that the country will never abandon its policy of complete segregation of the races. Whatever the outcome of the problem may be, it will never be found in the debasement which would result from amalgamation.

Second: From time to time some radical speculator breaks into the field with an argument based upon the inferiority of the negro and his incapacity for advancement, and establishes,

at least to his own satisfaction, that the negro is doomed to racial death for the best interests of civilization, and that his extinction is but a matter of a few generations. He finds analogies in the gradual disappearance of the North American Indians, the Sandwich Islanders, Maoris, and other uncivilized nations, and contends that the negro will not be able to withstand the perils incident to civilization any more successfully than the Indian or the savage of the Pacific. He predicts the certain outbreak of terrible diseases among the blacks, a steady decrease of the negro birth-rate, and prophetically conjures up a series of calamitous occurrences which will eventually result in the disappearance of the race. Some even go so far as to suggest the adoption of measures to effect this result.

Now, however well intended such a theory may be as a solution, neither past experience nor the humane principles upon which this nation is certain to be conducted in the future give support to such a proposition. The negro race has multiplied rapidly, and all well informed students of the problem believe that it will continue its increase under the favorable circumstances likely to exist for some generations to come.

It has been said that the negro is the only race which has looked the Anglo-Saxon in the face and lived, and while there may be doubt entertained as to the fact of its looking the Anglo-Saxon in the face, if we mean by that locution the entering into sustained competition with the English race, there is no doubt that in the United States the negro is not doomed to extermination, at least within any period having a practical bearing on the subject.

If, however, the conditions portrayed in Chapter IV. of Book I. continue to exist; if the Southern negro is to be confined to the position of a disfranchised serf—his industrial

freedom restricted, his education neglected, and his morals allowed to degenerate,—nothing is more certain than that he is doomed to lose ground in the struggle for existence, and his final elimination by the inexorable laws of nature will work out the slow solution of the problem. But as with amalgamation, such a solution is wholly impracticable.

Having thus sufficiently disposed of what may be called the fanciful solutions of the problem, we are now prepared to consider the serious measures which from time to time are proposed as calculated to effect a remedy for the evil. Some of these may be said to be propositions for solution, although they only indicate the means to be employed without pointing out what must be the logical result of their adoption.

We may begin by saying that, broadly speaking, one system of policy is advocated in the South and a different one in the North. In the theoretical treatment of the subject the sections are divided closely upon the same geographical lines as formerly they were upon the slavery question. It is not asserted that all the people of the South are agreed upon the policy to be pursued upon the subject, or that those of the North are a unit in their advocacy of any defined remedial measure. But as above stated, in a general way there exist two fairly well outlined solutions of the problem, which may be designated for convenience sake as,—first, the Solution of the South, and second, the Solution of the North. In this chapter the endeavor will be made to describe the general policy adopted by the former section, and to point out its insufficiency as a remedy for the existing evil.

The solution of the South is one of a definite and positive character, which with the customary and characteristic **The South's** straightforwardness of the people of that section **Solution.** is boldly avowed and having been put in present operation is now being carried to its logical conclusion.

In his recent essay upon the subject, the Reverend Washington Gladden took occasion to say in quoting from the article written by the Honorable Carl Schurz not long before his death:

“Here is the crucial point:—There will be a movement either in the direction of reducing the negroes to a permanent condition of serfdom, the condition of the mere plantation hand, . . .”—The question before the people of the United States is here clearly stated, only the tense must be changed from the future to the present. It is not accurate to say that there will be such a movement as the one first described,—the movement is in full progress and it appears to be gaining strength every day.

Such is indubitably the fact. The solution of the South is no academic dissertation upon the subject, but is based upon a forceful practical purpose and has already advanced far toward its ultimate result. It does not, however, meet the approval of all classes of the Southern people. A small but saving minority disbelieves in its methods and raises its dissenting but ineffectual voice in protest against the treatment to which the Southern negro is subjected in its application. Reference is made, of course, to that school of Southern writers upon the subject of whom the Reverend Edgar G. Murphy, Joel Chandler Harris, William H. Fleming, George W. Cable, and numerous others may be considered representatives; an enlightened and sympathetic element which finds itself totally at variance with the prevailing sentiment entertained in that section of the country respecting the future position of the negro.

But while all respect must be awarded to these far-seeing dissentients for their humane principles and superior ethical position, it must in all frankness be admitted that they do not represent the spirit and practice of the community in

which they live, and that their influence in this regard upon public thought and official action is inconsiderable. In relation to their influence, Professor DuBois truly and accurately says:

The brave utterances of such men represent a very small and very weak minority,—a minority which is growing very slowly, and which can only hope for success by means of moral support from the outside.

To whom, then, are we to turn to ascertain the sentiment of the Southern people and to arrive at an exact comprehension of the movement by which the South is to-day working out the practical solution of the negro problem? Naturally, to the public expressions of representative men, to the platforms of the dominant political party, to the official communications of the persons occupying high official station by the suffrages of the people, and generally to the writings of clergymen, lawyers, editors, college professors, business men, and authors, representative men of the South in the various activities of life. Such are certainly the sources from which we may best ascertain the real feeling and policy of the South upon the subject of the future status of the negro.

In presenting this phase of the question we eliminate the testimony of the negro, reserving that for consideration in another chapter, and proceed to call these representative witnesses, place them upon the stand, and let them give their testimony in their own words.

(1) Bishop Galloway, of Atlanta, Georgia, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, has carefully formulated the following, which he regards as the things upon which Southern men are now agreed:

First, in the South there never will be any social mingling

of the races. Whether it be prejudice or pride of race, there is a mental wall of partition which will not be broken down.

Second, they will worship in separate churches and be educated in separate schools. This is alike desired by both races, and is for the good of each.

Third, the political power of this section will remain in present hands. Here, as elsewhere, intelligence and wealth will and should control the administration of governmental affairs.

Fourth, the great body of the negroes are here to stay. Their coerced colonization would be a crime and their deportation a physical impossibility. And the white people are less anxious for them to go than they are to leave. They are natives and not intruders.

Here we find a conservative statement of the present and prospective condition of affairs from a high religious authority, fully cognizant of the gravity and difficulty of the problem.

(2) Georgia is the leading state of the South. She quite recently elected as Governor the Honorable Hoke Smith upon a platform which unequivocally declared for the continued domination of the white race. The Governor officially declares that the proper position of the negro is not that of a citizen but that of a ward, a dependent, the same position as that of an Indian, and calls for the repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Under his direction the Legislature has embodied in the Constitution of the state a provision effectually depriving the race of the elective franchise, and both in his public addresses and official messages he expresses his lack of belief in the political capacity of the negroes who constitute nearly one-half of the population of the state.

(3) In the neighboring state of South Carolina, the Hon-

orable Benjamin R. Tillman, the senior Senator from that state, has acquired an unenviable fame from his well-known advocacy of the most violent methods in dealing with the negro. And yet who can say that Senator Tillman does not, in fact, fairly represent the sentiment of the people of the Palmetto State? Not only that, but he seems to be an exceedingly popular lecturer in Northern communities, where he delights to reveal to large audiences the negro's wickedness and degradation, and to regale his hearers with counsels of hatred and hostility toward the African race. He has continued this policy for years without meeting serious reprobation, and were not the people of his state in complete accord with his negrophobic views he could scarcely retain his influential position.

At Augusta, Georgia, October, 1906, Senator Tillman enunciated the following platform for dealing with the negro race:

There are some people who say that a race problem settles itself, but I make the prediction that in less than ten years, I fear in less than five, there will be a great number of bloody race riots North and South, beside which the Atlanta riot will pale into insignificance.

I lay down the following propositions, which cannot be disputed:

First—White men of the South are united and determined as never before to maintain white supremacy, politically and socially, in every part of every Southern state.

Second—Negroes were never more intent on contesting, in every way that they dare, this position of the whites, the Republican National Government aiding and abetting this idea.

Third—Race hatred in every form is growing in intensity in both races.

Fourth—Lynching for criminal assault will continue so

long as the crime is committed. The escape of the guilty inflames whites, precipitates riots, and causes innocent negroes to suffer.

Fifth—Amalgamation is the hope and ultimate purpose of the negroes. White men are rendering them great aid in this by intimacy with negro women. The line must be drawn as sternly between white men and negro women as between black men and white women.

Sixth—The burning issue is how to prevent and not to avenge criminal assault, and lynching has failed. The superior race should protect many millions of innocent negroes from false teachers and base leaders who are rapidly driving the whites to desperation that means a race war that can only result in the destruction of the weaker race.

It may be claimed that Senator Tillman is an extremist upon this subject, but until some critic of equally commanding station in his section appears to dispute his doctrines it cannot be maintained that he does not fairly represent the views entertained by the majority of his constituents.

(4) Passing to the adjoining state of Alabama, we find the late senior Senator of the state, the Honorable John T. Morgan, advancing, shortly before his lamented death, the suggestion that at the next Democratic National Convention a resolution in the platform should be adopted to the express effect that this is a white man's government, and that the negro should be excluded from all participation in the franchise, and declaring that a proper interpretation of the Constitution leaves no place for the negro or the Indian in the enjoyment of the benefits conferred by that instrument.

The Senator, who certainly represented the public sentiment of his state, said:

I believe that the people of the United States were set apart to establish and execute that plan of government

which had no precedent or model in the wisdom of the nation. I do not believe that the Indian tribes or the African race were chosen for that great trust in the birth hour of the Republic. I find no place for those of them in that new political creation, "The People of the United States."

(5) The Honorable William Dorsey Jelks, for the six years preceding 1907 Governor of Alabama, may be regarded as entertaining the typical Southern opinion on the subject. He says in a recent magazine article¹ that during the greater part of the six years in which he served as Governor of the state, he had repeated talks with leading negroes and maintained a correspondence with others in order to get their co-operation with conservative white men in the interest of law and order. With brutal frankness he thus announces the future status of the negro in its civil, social, and political aspects:

One thing may be taken for granted in discussing the ever-present race question, in so far as that question affects the people who live in the Southern States: that is, that there is no social equality and that there will be none for any day which can be foreseen. No day will come within this generation or the next when negroes will be unprovided with separate coaches on roads, a division of seats in street-cars, separate hotels and at least separate sections at playhouses. We may say that this law of separation is written in the blood of the whites and is ineradicable.

Much less shall there be terms of intimacy in the family. The white man's table is not for the negro. Whatever may be the virtues of any colored man, or however admirable he may be from many standpoints, he is not for a place at the white man's fireside or the white man's table. These intimacies would mean that he is fit for the white

¹ "The Acuteness of the Negro Question," *North American Review*, February 15, 1907.

man's daughter. After an evening meal so surrounded or attended one can hear the head of the house exclaim: "I have supped full of horrors." There may be people, there are people, who do not comprehend this feeling. They say they do not get our angle of view. Strive as they may, they cannot see the matter as we do. My people find it even more difficult to understand the Easterner's view.

However others feel about it, it is settled that we will not have any suggestion of social equality in the South. To this extent there must be unending separation of the races. We have drawn a circle about us and propose to control this feature, at least, and control it above other important matters of our life. We will not even discuss riding in the same coach, sleeping at the same hotel, eating at the same table or studying at the same school.

And there can be no political equality, as a matter of fact. There is none now in most of the Southern States, and those states which have not done so are preparing to practically disfranchise the negro race, or certainly the less intelligent and less worthy portion of it.

The tone of his whole article is absolutely hopeless, and the only solution he has to offer is the substitution of white teachers for black in the work of giving the negro rudimentary education.

(6) In adjoining Mississippi, Governor Vardaman, the former popular Governor of that state, in his last inaugural **Vardaman's** address expressed the opinion that the South **Extreme** would settle the question justly, protecting alike **Opinions.** the negro and the white man. He takes a dependent view of the situation, saying of the negro:

He is deteriorating morally every day. Time has demonstrated that he is more criminal as a free man than as a slave—that he is increasing in criminality with fearful rapidity, being one-third more criminal in 1890 than he

was in 1880. The startling facts revealed by the census show that those who can read and write are more criminal than the illiterates, which is true of no other element of our population.

I am advised that the minimum illiteracy among the negroes is found in New England, where it is 21.7 per cent.; the maximum is found in the black belt—Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—where it is 65.7 per cent., and yet the negro in New England is four and one-half times more criminal, hundred for hundred, than he is in the black belt.

In the South—Mississippi particularly—I know he is growing worse every year. You can scarcely pick up a newspaper whose pages are not blackened with the account of an unmentionable crime committed by a negro brute, and this crime, I want to impress upon you, is but the manifestation of the negroes' aspiration for social equality, encouraged largely by the character of free education in vogue which the state is levying tribute upon the white people to maintain.

He, too, demands the repeal of the Civil War amendments to the Constitution, in order that the negro be deprived of even an appearance of the rights and privileges of citizenship, saying:

The nation should correct this stupendous solecism, and now is the time to do it. I believe that the Southern people should take the initiative in the matter, for they are familiar with the views and they alone are capable of informing the world of the profound, God-stamped, time-fixed and unalterable incompetency of the negro for citizenship in a white man's country.

(7) Governor Davis of Arkansas, and Governor Blanchard of Louisiana, are each upon record with statements of kindred character.

(8) Ex-Governor Aycock, of North Carolina, some time ago at a public dinner well expressed the present sentiment of the thinking population of the South upon this subject. He says that so far as his state is concerned the negro problem has been solved, and in his own words, he thus states the solution:

It is, first, as far as it is possible under the Fifteenth Amendment, to disfranchise him; after that let him alone; quit writing about him, quit talking about him, quit making him "the white man's burden"; let him "tote his own skillet"; quit coddling him; let him learn that no man, no race, ever got anything worth having that he did not earn himself, that character is the outcome of sacrifice, and worth is the result of toil; that whatever his future may be, the present has in it for him nothing that is not the product of industry, thrift, obedience to law and uprightness.

Here certainly we have a fairly definite solution of this problem.

(9) Turning northward to Maryland, we find Governor Warfield declaring:

The people demand that the state shall be governed by those citizens who, because of their intelligence, their heredity and their interest in the material welfare of the commonwealth are best fitted to properly, patriotically and wisely exercise the high duties of citizenship.

This result can only be attained by an amendment to the Constitution fixing a higher standard of qualification for the exercise of the elective franchise. I believe that an amendment to the Constitution upon the lines which I have suggested, expressed in clear, definite, simple terms, should be submitted to the people of Maryland.

The State of Maryland differs in some degree from others

of the Southern States in having the two great political parties nearly balanced, and yet even here the same principle of the absolute exclusion of the negro from all participation in governmental affairs is contemplated. At the last Republican State Convention the platform adopted contains this declaration:

The Republican party of the State of Maryland favors no social equality among the races, favors no negro domination over the white people here or elsewhere, and can be depended upon to guard against the establishment of either of these conditions here in Maryland.

This convention was presided over by the Honorable Charles J. Bonaparte, now Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt, and doubtless the above resolution expresses with substantial accuracy the sentiment of the best citizenship of Maryland upon the subject.

(10) Virginia, through her governor, the Honorable Claude A. Swanson, presents the same solution of the problem:

The disfranchisement of the negro [said he in his address before the American Bankers' Association at Atlantic City, September, 1907] and his consequent elimination from politics in many Southern States has been one of the greatest factors in the advancement of the South.

At last the offices, the business houses and the financial institutions of the South are in the hands of intelligent Anglo-Saxons, and with God's help and our own good right arm we will hold him where he is for his own good and our own salvation.

(11) The Honorable John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, after a close and bitter contest, was selected in the summer of 1907 by the people of his state to represent them in the United States Senate. He has since had conferred upon him the distinction of party

John Sharp
Williams on
the Negro.

leadership in the House of Representatives, and may fairly be deemed to represent the conservative attitude of his section upon the negro question. Incidentally it may be noted that Mr. Williams comes from a district whose population is three-fourths negro, and that at his unanimous election in 1906 he received the total number of 2091 votes.

Under the title of "The Negro and the South," in the *Metropolitan Magazine* of November, 1907, Mr. Williams turns the powers of his observing and resourceful intellect upon this intricate question. Here at least we might expect to find light and leading, but as we turn page after page of his article we find the same familiar complaint as to the ignorance and prejudice which other sections of the United States display in their treatment of the subject, leading to the whimsical suggestion of a solution by the distribution of the negro evenly throughout the country, so that "a knowledge of the negro problem may be carried to white men in other parts of the Union."

After that, nothing, save the time-worn denunciation of the negro for his ignorance and poverty, and the usual glorification of the measures by which he has been deprived of the franchise, ending with optimistic expressions of confidence that in some way "we can hope, from the natural evolution of things, for a solution of this great problem, as of most others."

We might continue to add citation after citation. Governors, senators, congressmen, doctors, lawyers, editors, business men, authors, all classes and qualities of Southern citizenship might be called to the stand, but the concurring testimony of nearly all would be as hereinbefore indicated. Under the stress of necessity the South has solved the negro problem to its own partial satisfaction by eliminating the black man as a political or social factor, and relegating him

to the position of an industrial inferior. Let us see how this solution works out in its concrete results.

While the foregoing statements embody the general theory upon which the Southern solution of the problem is proceeding, and fairly indicate the attitude of the practical Southern mind upon the subject, sentiment on the matter is not entirely unanimous. There is another and slowly growing school of Southern thought which with clearer insight as to the needs and welfare of the section and with a correct apprehension of the consequences involved in the action of the majority seeks to solve the problem in an entirely different way. We shall later in this work recur to this saner and more satisfactory solution.

But, in the mean time, having carefully read and thoroughly digested the foregoing extracts from representative Southern statements, and noted the substantial unanimity prevailing among those entitled to speak with authority as to the proper position of the negro in the social, political, and economic structure of society in the Southern States, we are now in a situation fairly to draw therefrom the following conclusion:

BY THE GENERAL CONSENSUS OF OPINION IN THE SECTION MENTIONED, THE NEGRO IS AN INHERENTLY INFERIOR BEING, NOW AND FOREVER INCAPABLE OF CIVILIZATION OR OF PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT; EXCLUDED BY NATURAL DEFICIENCIES FROM EQUAL ASSOCIATION IN ANY CAPACITY WITH THE WHITE RACE, AND TO BE TOLERATED ONLY AS A DEPENDENT AND SUBORDINATE ELEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH HE IS FOUND. THE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM LIES IN THE ADOPTION AND MAINTENANCE OF SUCH MEASURES AS MAY BE REQUISITE TO RETAIN HIM IN THIS CONDITION.

The sentiment of the South is the same to-day as it was forty-eight years ago, when Alexander H. Stephens, then

Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, said in his celebrated address at Savannah, March, 1861, speaking of the newly founded government:

Its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

Out of the chaotic industrial conditions following the Civil War and the turmoil of racial strife, the South is slowly shaping her political institutions, her industrial organization and her social relations, to conform with the existence upon her soil of two fundamentally differing races inextricably intermingled, the one asserting its natural right to compose a superior governing class and to consign the other to the occupancy of a subject and subordinate position.

It by no means follows from this theory of permanent subordination that the Southerner hates the negro or would do him intentional harm. The contrary is rather the case. The descendants of the old master retain much of that feeling of personal affection for the dependent black man which served to mitigate the asperities of slavery and lent something of the glamour of romance to that sordid institution. The Southern white man loves the "nigger" in much the same fashion as he does his dog or his horse. He slaps him on the back, laughs with him, and would like to see him thrive, but he reserves the privilege of occasionally kicking him if he is "impudent," or shooting him offhand if guilty of serious infraction of the law.

He derides the ability of the negro as a farmer, but is ready to rent him his lands, virtually admitting that he cannot get along without him. He mocks his efforts to acquire education, and is inwardly hostile to the acceptance of aid from the North for that purpose, and in many localities

demands that the amount expended for educational purposes in negro schools should be only in proportion to the taxes paid by that race. He ignores the fact that the negro is largely the wealth producer of the section, and adopts the outworn theory that the taxpayer is he who carries the money, product of labor, to the tax-gatherer's office. The large landowner of the South—generally land poor—would prefer to lease his otherwise unproductive fields to an ignorant, thriftless negro, whom he can cajole or coerce into paying an extortionate rent, than to deal with a more intelligent and self-respecting white tenant who would be likely to demand a greater proportionate share of the annual product.

The results of this practical acceptance of the Southerner's solution are beginning to attract the attention of the nation.

Results of the Solution of the South. They are just such results as might be expected to flow from the measures adopted. As has been stated in a former chapter, from Pennsylvania to Mexico the vote of the negro has been substantially suppressed. The gravity of this phase of the situation will form the subject of a subsequent chapter, where the deplorable results certain to follow from this cause will be demonstrated.

The social condition of the black race has been fixed as dramatically and inexorably as the tragic laws of caste are established upon the plain of the Ganges, and at the least effort upon his part to surmount the social barriers erected against him, the spirit of racial animosity asserts itself in bitter antagonism. In many sections of the South the system of peonage is fairly well established, and it is due only to the repressive sentiment of the North that the virtual re-introduction of slavery has not taken place. Can any thoughtful person acquainted with the facts entertain a doubt that were the South a separate nation, as forty-seven years

ago it aspired to make itself, the institution of slavery would gradually be re-established within its territory?

We cannot feel that the best thought of the South is satisfied with this solution, and we must believe that it is accepted as the best possible adjustment under the circumstances rather than as a final remedy for the evils arising from the presence of this alien people. Upon what mysterious consideration, then, do the people of that section so desire to retain with them the negro, whose inveterate depravity and absolute incapacity for improvement they so emphatically assert? Why do they not take measures to eliminate this disturbing factor from their social and industrial life?

The answer is simple. So conservative are the business habits and methods of thought of the section, so dependent have the various interests become upon this unreliable race, that the very mention of a negro exodus evokes a protest of indignant alarm. The vocation of an agent sent to the Southern States to induce negroes to emigrate is not esteemed particularly safe or profitable. In Georgia an annual tax of \$500 is imposed upon this occupation, and in other states drastic measures to prevent the negroes from leaving the community are employed whenever deemed necessary.

This, then, is the solution of the South. Enforced to its legitimate conclusion, its effect will be to reduce the negro to a condition of perpetual serfdom, and thus to blight the future prosperity of the section; to continue the geographical estrangement of the North and South, and to keep suspended over the nation the ever present danger of sectional conflict.

Moreover, as has been pointed out, this vicious solution is now in practical operation. We have seen in our survey of the present condition of the negro to what an alarming degree he has been eliminated as a factor in the citizenship of the communities south of Pennsylvania.

Should it, then, be a matter of wonderment if, deprived

of religious, educational, political, and social equality, excluded from the polls and the jury box, holding his life, liberty, and property at the mercy of the dominant race, the thinking negro is slow in his advancement, sullen and resentful in his conduct? Is it not to be expected that race riots will increase in number and violence, when, in strenuous opposition to the enforcement of this method of solution, leaders of the race such as Professor DuBois and Professor Kelly Miller issue pamphlets denouncing the injustice of the negro's treatment, and calling upon him boldly to assert the rights secured to him by the Federal Constitution?

The solution of the South is impossible. Could a line be drawn between North and South across which the black man must not go to the North, and across which the white dollar and the white schoolbook must not go to the South, the solution might suffice for temporary purposes. But so long as the little schoolhouse of the South affords the negro a glimpse of the advantages of education; so long as Howard University, Atlanta University, and Tuskegee Institute summon the aspiring colored youth to scholarship, culture, and refining associations; so long as the examples of the scores, yes, hundreds of negro men prominent in science, teaching, business, law, and literature continue to incite the more ambitious members of the race along the path of endeavor, so long will the failure of this solution be inevitable.

The fallacy of this proposed solution of the South is to be found in the assumption that in this country you can give to the negro educational opportunity, enable him to accumulate wealth and to acquire the ownership of land, while permanently depriving him of political power. To what degree is he to be allowed education under this new theory of permanent vassalage? Are the Bible and the classics to be placed in his hands? Is he to be permitted to study the

history of Greece, to interpret the record of the inspiring struggles of Switzerland, Holland, and England for civil freedom? Shall he be allowed to acquaint himself with the wondrous story of the Hebrew people, emerging prophet-led from the house of bondage, rising through the discipline of suffering and captivity by the sword of the Maccabees and the intellect of its merchants and scholars from the degradation of the Ghetto to the cabinets of presidents and the council chambers of kings, mounting from the penury of the Orient to the control of great financial institutions of Europe and America? Is he even to be allowed to know the history of his own race in its contributions to the cause of human rights and its conduct on the battle-fields of the wars of the nation? Are the aspiring negro youth of the South to be allowed to declaim unchecked the speech of Spartacus, the orations of Chatham, and the fiery outbursts of Patrick Henry; to read Milton on Liberty, the Declaration of Independence, and Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and then to be expected submissively to endure such deprivations and humiliations as the whites may see fit to impose upon them? The whole experience of history gives the negative answer to these questions.

The slaveholding oligarchy of the South was wise in its day and generation when with stringent penalties it interdicted the giving of even elementary instruction to the slave. Unless the present South is prepared to deny to the negro not only political privilege, industrial opportunity, and social recognition, but also to deprive him of his growing educational advantages, its solution of the problem is foredoomed to failure.

CHAPTER II

LYNCHING AS AN ELEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

If my own city of Atlanta had offered it to-day the choice between 500 negro college graduates—forceful, busy, ambitious men of property and self-respect,—and 500 black cringing vagrants and criminals, the popular vote in favor of the criminals would be simply overwhelming. Why? Because they want negro crime? No, not that they fear negro crime less, but that they fear negro ambition and success more.

They can deal with crime by chain gang and lynch law, or at least they think they can, but the South can conceive neither machinery nor place for the educated, self-reliant, self-assertive black man.—PROFESSOR W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS, Lecture before Philadelphia Divinity School, 1907.

WITHOUT a reference to the brutalizing practice of lynching so well established in one section of the country, any discussion of the negro problem would be necessarily incomplete. It is to be regretted that this repulsive blemish upon our national fame must be continually projected into observation in any discussion of the relation of the negro, past or future, to the white man in our republic. The writer would gladly be spared the unpleasant task of placing before his readers the facts contained in this chapter, but to make such an omission would be purposely to leave the consideration of the subject incomplete by disregarding what is beyond question one of the most painfully significant aspects of the problem. The absolute necessity of presenting the following facts in order that no essential element of the situation may be overlooked, is the justifi-

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cation for including them in the presentation of the subject.

The words "lynching" and "to lynch" are of modern origin, although the practice in one form or other has prevailed for centuries. While lexicographers differ among themselves as to the origin of the terms, it is usual to ascribe their derivation to the fact that a Virginia farmer named Lynch, who lived in Revolutionary times, was in the habit of administering summary justice to Tories and desperadoes in the years immediately following the War for Independence.

The term first came into common use about 1830, and since that date has been quite regularly employed to describe the practice of inflicting punishment, usually capital, without form of law, by a mob of unauthorized persons. Originally its meaning seems to have been confined to any unauthorized punishment thus administered, but of recent years in practice it is almost exclusively confined to cases where death is the result of unlawful violence. So that lynching is now practically synonymous with summary and illegal capital punishment at the hands of a mob.

There is, however, first to be noted a clear distinction between the practice of lynching as it exists in a frontier community, where under unsettled social and legal conditions it is adopted merely as a temporary expedient, expected to fall into disuse when civil government and orderly judicial administration become firmly established, and the practice of inflicting illegal punishment where in well organized communities the machinery of justice is available, and by the orderly procedure of law the rights of citizens may be safeguarded and criminals regularly punished.

Of the former character was the rough and ready justice administered in the frontier settlements of this country, and especially that dispensed by the vigilance committees who

exercised a wholesome but irregular jurisdiction over the vicious and criminal elements of the population of California in its early days. We must carefully discriminate between the lynching which is the only recourse of an unorganized community for the establishment of justice, and which in itself is a sort of informal legal proceeding, and that vicious and despicable character of lynch law which exercises its jurisdiction in defiance of law in supposedly civilized communities, and flouts with its violent and murderous operations the regularly constituted forces of justice.

The subject of this chapter being the relation of lynching of the latter character to the negro problem, we may observe in beginning that as the institution of slavery was of necessity established and maintained upon a basis of physical force, in derogation of the natural rights of the individual, it in itself constituted a variety of lynch law. But this species of lynch law during the slavery period was under most circumstances of a mild description.

So long as the blacks were valuable as slaves, concubines, and nurses for children, and accepted their inferior position without protest, there was little occasion for the exercise of more violence than was ordinarily necessary for the enforcement of daily discipline. It was only when in the frenzy of terror aroused by the prospect of slave insurrection the slaveholder found it necessary to resort to harsher methods, that he felt the need of inflicting capital punishment upon his chattel. There are very few instances recorded during slavery times of negroes having been subjected to the death penalty other than by the regularly constituted legal authorities.

Lynching, then, of the character which we are considering,—that is, lynching in defiance of regularly constituted authorities,—is almost entirely a growth of the
The Growth of Lynching. period subsequent to the Civil War. When, by

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the measures of reconstruction, the very foundations of Southern society were subverted, and the ignorant, untutored negro was placed in the seat of political power, with his former master relegated to disfranchised obscurity, the clash between the races became unavoidable. In the following years, in pursuance of that instinct of control which, implanted in the heart and brain of the white man, causes him to refuse submission to the domination of an inferior race, he resorted to physical force to overturn the Southern state governments, already in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and thus laid the foundation for all subsequent violence, and in its train originated the lynching problem.

The history of the South during and following the reconstruction period, with its Ku-Klux-Klan incidents, the uprising of 1870 in New Orleans, the various political massacres of negroes throughout that section made necessary for the securing and maintaining of white domination, is the record of the lynching of the political rights of the negro race. Following this era of violence, there has continued to the present time throughout the Southern States the practice of inflicting, for causes weighty or unimportant, illegal penalties of whipping, banishment, and even death upon the black man. Nor upon him alone, for, as the statistics establish, in much the same measure as the black man is a sufferer from this unlawful violence, his white neighbor in the same community is subjected to like invasion of his natural rights to life and liberty.

Before further discussing the lynching problem as an element of the more inclusive negro question, some statistics setting forth the magnitude of this ghastly evil should be introduced. The following records are certainly of a character to cause us to pause upon every occasion when we feel called upon to felicitate ourselves

Statistics of
Lynching.

concerning the progress and prospects of our American democracy.

In the preparation of these statistics recourse has been had to the very complete and scholarly work of Dr. James Elbert Cutler, of Wellesley College, in which, under the title of "Lynch Law," he presents the results of a most timely and valuable investigation of the subject of this species of violence in the United States. Dr. Cutler himself in his book acknowledges his obligation to the *Chicago Tribune*, which has published at the close of each year for many years an itemized summary of the lynchings which have taken place in this country.

It is impossible, of course, to claim absolute accuracy in regard to the figures here presented. From the very nature of the case there can be no official statistics on the subject, and those engaged in lynching operations would quite naturally be the very last to present to the investigator any data on the question. But it is believed that the figures here presented are substantially accurate, and thus constitute a sufficient basis for a complete understanding of the magnitude of this evil practice.

These statistics, however, refer to lynchings strictly so defined, that is, to the execution by mobs or other irregularly constituted bodies of men of persons accused or suspected of crime. They do not embrace the casualties in what are commonly known as race wars in the South, conflicts in which the contention between the races assumes something of the form of battle, or massacre, and where quite frequently the newspapers close the account of the incident with a remark to the effect that "after the firing ceased, the negroes retreated to the swamps, carrying off their dead and wounded." Therefore, the figures presented in the following tables represent a minimized statement of the

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number of lives illegally taken in our national lynching operations.

The following table shows the number of persons lynched in the United States for the years 1882 to 1908 inclusive:

TABLE I.
NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED.

1882.....114	1896.....131
1883.....134	1897.....165
1884.....211	1898.....127
1885.....184	1899.....107
1886.....138	1900.....115
1887.....122	1901.....135
1888.....142	1902.....97
1889.....176	1903.....104
1890.....128	1904.....87
1891.....195	1905.....66
1892.....235	1906.....69
1893.....200	1907.....63
1894.....197	1908.....100
1895.....180	—
Total.....	3,722

There is certainly abundant food for thought in this table, especially when we ascertain from the work above quoted that the number thus put to death in violation of law in the country is more than double the number suffering death during the same period by legal execution of sentence, and that, with a very few and unimportant exceptions, no one has ever been punished for participation in these 3,722 murderous violations of law.

The record for 1908 is especially startling. It appears from the carefully compiled statistics of the *Chicago Tribune* that during that year 100 lynchings took place, while the number of legal executions throughout the country was but 92. Of the 100 persons thus illegally deprived of life, 93 were negroes and 97 resided in the Southern States.

The following table shows the proportion lynched for various causes in the period 1882 to 1903, the figures not having been brought down to the present time.

The Negro Problem

TABLE II.

Cause.	IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY.		IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.	
	Whites and Others.	Negroes.	Whites and Others.	Negroes.
Murder.....	628 (49.2%)	783 (38%)	321 (53.5%)	753 (38%)
Theft.....	264 (20.6%)	101 (4.9%)	63 (10.5%)	96 (4.8%)
Rape.....	109 (8.5%)	707 (34.3%)	69 (11.5%)	675 (34%)
Desp'r'dism	93 (7.3%)	20 (.9%)	30 (5%)	18 (.9%)
Unknown...	89 (7%)	90 (4.3%)	50 (8.3%)	87 (4.3%)
Min. offen's	52 (4%)	208 (10.1%)	42 (7%)	206 (10.3%)
Arson.....	31 (2.4%)	104 (5%)	19 (3.2%)	104 (5.2%)
Assault.....	11 (.8%)	47 (2.3%)	6 (1%)	46 (2.3%)

The next tables show, by states, the statistics of the number of persons lynched from 1882 to 1903, divided between the Southern States on the one hand, and the Eastern and Northern States on the other, the extreme Western States being omitted for the reason that during that period the character of lynchings in the last-named section, as above stated, was principally of the frontier order and not properly the subject of this investigation.

TABLE III.

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN SOUTHERN STATES, 1882-1903

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Mississippi.....	39	294	1	334
Texas.....	114	199	11	324
Louisiana.....	34	232	19	285
Georgia.....	28	241		269
Alabama.....	46	198		244
Arkansas.....	60	139	1	200
Tennessee.....	49	150		199
Kentucky.....	64	103		167
Florida.....	19	115		134
South Carolina.....	8	109		117
Missouri.....	49	42		91
Virginia.....	21	70		91
North Carolina.....	15	48	1	64
West Virginia.....	19	27		46
Maryland.....	2	18		20
Total.....	567	1,985	33	2,585

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TABLE IV.

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN STATES,
1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Indiana.....	41	11		52
Ohio.....	10	11		21
Illinois.....	11	10		21
Michigan.....	7	1		8
Pennsylvania.....	2	5		7
Wisconsin.....	6			6
New York.....	1	1		2
New Jersey.....		1		1
Connecticut.....	1			1
Delaware.....		1		1
Total.....	79	41		120

The following table displays the total number of persons lynched throughout the country for the period above mentioned:

TABLE V.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED, 1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Southern.....	567	1,985	33	2,585
Western.....	523	34	75	632
Eastern.....	79	41		120
Total.....	1,169	2,060	108	3,337

The following table gives by states the statistics of lynchings, furnished by Mr. Upton of the *Chicago Tribune* for the years 1904-1905 and the first half of 1906:

TABLE VI.

	1904.	1905.	1906. (1st half)
Alabama.....	5	3	3
Arkansas.....	17	5	3
California.....	2	0	0
Florida.....	3	1	5
Georgia.....	17	11	4
Idaho.....	1	0	0
Kentucky.....	4	4	1
Louisiana.....	2	4	6
Maryland.....	0	0	1

TABLE VI—Continued.

	1904.	1905.	1906. (1st half)
Mississippi.....	18	17	5
Missouri.....	0	1	3
Nevada.....	0	1	0
Ohio.....	1	0	0
North Carolina.....	1	1	4
South Carolina.....	5	3	4
Tennessee.....	2	3	1
Texas.....	4	11	3
Virginia.....	4	1	0
Wyoming.....	1	0	0
Indian Territory.....	0	0	2
Total.....	87	66	45
South.....	82	65	45
North.....	5	1	0
Negro.....	83	61	41
White.....	4	5	4

The following table shows the causes ascribed for lynchings during the years 1904, 1905, 1906:

TABLE VII.

Murder.....	87	Robbery.....	6
Rape.....	58	Kidnapping.....	1
Race prejudice.....	20	Elopement.....	1
Murderous assault.....	12	Informing.....	1
Conspiracy to murder..	2	Mistaken identity.....	1
Insults.....	3	Unknown.....	4
Threats.....	1	Arson.....	1

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The succeeding table gives by way of contrast the total number of persons sentenced to death and those upon whom the sentence was executed in England and Wales for the ten years 1896-1905 inclusive, forming a striking contrast when we take into consideration the rigorous method in which punishment for crime is inflicted in those countries.

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TABLE VIII.

NUMBER OF PERSONS SENTENCED AND EXECUTED IN ENGLAND AND WALES—1896 TO 1905, INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Sentenced.	Executed.
1896.....	33.....	20
1897.....	14.....	6
1898.....	27.....	11
1899.....	29.....	15
1900.....	20.....	13
1901.....	28.....	15
1902.....	33.....	22
1903.....	40.....	27
1904.....	28.....	16
1905.....	32.....	17

When we essay to discuss the causes which impel the people of this country to this unparalleled exhibition of savagery, we are at a loss at first to account for the existence of such a sinister record. We soon note, however, that lynching is a crime peculiar to our own country, in the sense that is it the only country in the world holding high rank as a civilized community where the practice, as defined, prevails. Other nations contain their turbulent elements, causing social or political uprisings, at times demanding the severest exercise of governmental powers for their repression. Crimes of violence and disorder are far from being unknown, but in no other country, so far as our information goes, does the practice of the irregular administration of the death penalty obtain.

Dr. Cutler, in his work on *Lynch Law* above referred to, after asserting that the number of executions by mobs in the United States far exceeds the number of executions conducted in pursuance of due process of law, calls attention to this fact; and Professor James Wilford Garner, of the University of Illinois, in a recent magazine article upon the subject, says, referring to Dr. Cutler's statistics:

Such a record shows a reign of lawlessness in the United

States unparalleled by that of any other civilized nation. In England, a country peopled by the same race as ours and having a system of law similar to our own, there has not been a case of lynching, I believe, within the memory of any man now living.

The number of lynchings in Mississippi alone during the year 1908 was greater than the average number of executions in England and Wales during the past ten years. The significance of this fact is one which must impress itself upon all contemplative minds.

A further and kindred peculiarity in relation to the subject of lynching then forces itself upon our notice. While the practice is not entirely peculiar to the Southern section of the country, it is in that region where it finds its most violent manifestation. It is always in a measure associated with the distribution of the negro population, its proportions following with almost unvarying ratio, both as to its black and white victims, the figures of the negro population as shown by the census. In other words, where the negro is, there lynching is; where few negroes are found no lynchings occur.

By the tables, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia enjoy the evil pre-eminence of leading the lynching column, while during the period covered by the statistics the whole of New England has produced but one lynching, and that of doubtful character; the Middle States but seven, all of negroes: and the great Central Western States but very few, and those principally of that unfortunate race.

With this consideration of the foregoing facts, we are enabled to reach the source, cause, and fertile origin of the practice of lynching, viz.,—THE NEGRO.

Lynching, as it exists in this country, is the product of the racial antipathy existing between the Caucasian and the negro, and while its evil results objectively are not entirely

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confined to the people of the latter race, the presence of the negro element is the certain cause of the origin of the evil. The grounds for this cannot be better stated than they are in the work above referred to, Cutler's *Lynch Law* (p. 200 *et seq.*):

On both physical and psychic grounds there is reason for an antagonistic feeling between the white race and the black race. Physically there is great diversity between the racial types of the two races. The color of the negro's skin, his kinky hair, and his general physiognomy, especially his flat nose and protruding lips with receding (actual or apparent) forehead,—all are widely diverse from the white man's standard of beauty and symmetry. Measured by the Caucasian ideal, the features of the negro are coarse and animal-like. To most white persons, also, the odor arising from an assemblage of negroes is extremely disagreeable, and some negroes say that they find the odor of white persons similarly distasteful. With reference to the psychic characteristics of the two races, their intellectual and moral traits, there is even greater diversity. In their religion, and essential manners, customs and habits of thought, the differences are so great as to constitute almost opposite extremes. There is a total lack of anything like a community of interest between the two races. Members of the white race and of the black race do not find satisfaction in intermarriage and mingling together around the hearthstone. The whites and the blacks never have associated and do not to-day associate together in public and in private as one people.

When the two races, occupying the same territory and living side by side, differ so widely in their physical features, in their interests and in their attainments, as do the white and colored races in this country, it is most natural and indeed almost inevitable that prejudice should arise between them. The institution of slavery has no doubt created a caste feeling on the part of the master race, and yet this is

but the strengthening and deepening of a natural race antipathy, the causes for which are evident. Slavery merely intensified a feeling that was due to other causes. It is an error to say that slavery has been the cause of all the prejudice against the negro. It is true that the black race long wore the chain of slavery and was regarded as an inferior race, and this was true in the United States as well as elsewhere; but the reason for the antagonistic feeling lies deeper than that fact.

The Southerner, in his attempted justification of the lynching of negroes in recent years, alleges as the provoking cause the crime of rape as directed against white women and children, and upon this allegation builds up a plausible argument for the continuance of the practice. It would be easy to establish, from the statistics above exhibited, that in only a minority of instances is even the accusation of rape made against the victim of lynch law. As the very fact of lynching implies the absence of judicial investigation, there is no means of ascertaining to what degree the charge may be true in any individual case.

Doubtless there is upon the part of the Southern black man a growing tendency to perpetrate this species of crime, which was practically unknown while the negro was in a condition of slavery. The Southerner bases upon this fact the argument now becoming familiar, that the horrible crimes against women and children which lead to the frequent lynching of negroes are but the manifestation of the black man's aspiration for social equality, encouraged largely by the character of the education which he receives in higher institutions of learning, and which unfits him for remaining contentedly in his subordinate position.

This startling theory is adopted by Thomas Nelson Page in an article in the *North American Review* of some three

years ago, entitled "Lynching of Negroes, its Cause and Prevention," and certainly the belief is becoming prevalent in the South that the shocking crimes against white women and children which inflame the lynching spirit are mainly due to racial antagonism and the disappointed desire for social equality which rankles in the mind of the ignorant and undisciplined negro.

No purpose exists on the part of the writer to insult the intelligence of his readers by dwelling upon the familiar justifications set forth by the advocates of lynching. No one who correctly understands the principles of our democratic form of government and who realizes in full measure the results which inevitably flow from the open and systematic defiance of the law, can for a moment countenance or give heed to the puerile arguments advanced by those who desire to set at defiance the first principles of civilized government.

All arguments based upon a higher or unwritten law; upon the failure of juries to perform their duties in conscientious fashion; upon the inadequacy or delay of legal proceedings; or upon any other of the fanciful excuses sometimes advanced to condone, if not to justify, the heinous practice of lynching, are unworthy of a moment's consideration. If a community is sufficiently depraved in spirit and so lacking in its just conception of the demands of justice as to countenance the savage murder of presumptively innocent human beings, any excuse will serve. The old Spanish proverb runs, "If you desire to beat your dog, you need only say 'He has swallowed the tongs.'"

The evil effects of lynching upon a community in which such a practice is tolerated are scarcely susceptible of exaggeration. It is the orderly administration of justice which is the distinguishing mark of a civilized community. It has been said of old, that the one great purpose of the English constitution was to get twelve

honest, independent men into the jury box. And any community which will view with apathy the practice which is the subject of discussion in this chapter, no matter what plausible arguments may be advanced to support it, shows itself to be lacking in those qualities which distinguish the civilized man from the savage.

Consider for a moment the fact that in all the lynchings of negroes set forth in the foregoing tables, so far as statistics show, only three persons have ever been convicted of the offence. Hundreds, yes, thousands of men walk the streets of the cities and towns of this country, associated with other men in business and social life, well known to all to be untried murderers. Their fathers, mothers, wives, and children are familiar with the fact, and in many instances the participants in a lynching proudly confess their connection with the transaction.

The general deterioration of character, the incentive to other crimes, the loss of self-respect attendant upon participation in this species of crime, lower the standard of a community far below any possibility of computation. More might be said upon this subject, but the conclusion that degradation must follow from the tolerance of such a practice is so obvious that further discussion is unnecessary.

In order that those of the readers of this work who may not have given the matter the attention which it demands may understand the gravity of the situation revealed by these lynchings, a brief description of some of the more recent incidents of this order may not be out of place. The statement may be premised by saying that these examples taken from the history of the past few years are not in any sense indicative of a new condition of the lynching problem, but merely note the continuation of the dark and bloody record of this species of crime, which goes back to the days immediately succeed-

**A Few
Sample
Lynchings.**

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ing the Civil War, and may be regarded simply as extraordinary or unusual incidents of this character still fresh in the memory of the public.

Springfield, Ohio, is a prosperous city of some 41,000 people, having in the year 1904 a population of about 2500 Springfield, negroes; this class of population having been for Ohio. various reasons unusually numerous in that place in proportion to the whites. According to the descriptions, these negroes were, as indeed nearly all negroes in Northern cities are, a worthless and venal class, there being many negro saloons and disorderly houses where the lowest of the low, dissolute negroes and still more dissolute whites, held rendezvous.

On March 7, 1904, a mob gathered and took from the county jail a negro accused of murder, slaughtered him in cold blood at the jail doorway, dragged the body through the principal business street, and hanged it to a telegraph pole, afterward riddling it with bullets. The corpse hung there for the next day, an unspeakable grisly horror, the subject of jesting comment for the unlawful elements of the community. Not contented with this foul work, the mob in gathering numbers went further, the spirit of anarchy spreading through the town, and drove all the negro population out of the city, burning many houses, beating and mutilating the unfortunate blacks. For several days the city was in a state of riot. The state militia had to be called in to restore and preserve order, and finally, after the turbulent element had been quelled and the excitement had subsided, it was found, strangely enough, that no one was guilty, nothing had happened, and the crimes of murder, assault, arson, and highway robbery are to this day unpunished.

September 22, 1906, there occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, an affair which it would be difficult to parallel in atrocity

with anything that has recently happened in any country claiming to be in a state of civilization. Lest there should be an inclination to state the matter too forcibly, *Atlanta, Georgia.* recourse is had to the newspaper account of the affair, which sets out some incidents of its almost unspeakable horror.

NEGROES SHOT LIKE DOGS

TEN KILLED AND ABOUT FIFTY WOUNDED IN ATLANTA—ASSAULTS ON WHITE WOMEN AROUSE A MURDEROUS MANIA IN THE TOWN—NOT ONE MOB BUT MANY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CITY DO THE WORK—MANY NEGROES CLUBBED.

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 22.—Ten dead negroes and probably half a hundred persons suffering from more or less serious wounds is the result of a lynching mania which seized upon the white people of Atlanta to-night. It was caused by criminal assaults on three white women which followed one another in quick succession shortly after 8 o'clock to-night. The Atlanta whites have been greatly incensed against the negroes because of nine assaults committed in the last two months on white women by negroes, and the three assaults to-night were sufficient to put the mob spirit in action.

As soon as the assaults were announced by the night extras the cry of "Kill the negroes!" was heard in every section of the city and the deadly work began. There was not one great mob but scores of small mobs made up of young men and half grown boys operating against the negroes in various sections of the city. Wherever a negro was seen he was made the target for bullets, knives, sticks, shovels and every other weapon that was obtainable. Several of the negroes were literally beaten to death. Most of the negroes killed met their doom in street cars. The mobs would watch for the cars and when a negro was seen

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inside, the car would be stopped and the negro either killed or beaten half to death.

Two negroes were killed on a Forsyth street car in plain view of the editorial rooms of the *Atlanta Constitution*. The mob saw two negro men on the car, accompanied by two women. They were captured. The negro women were forced to get out and the negroes were shot to death.

Subsequent descriptions added to the horror of this account. After the negroes were killed, in sheer wantonness of savagery the mob dragged their bodies across the street to the monument erected to the honor of Henry W. Grady, editor, orator, and champion of the New South, and there around the statue of that noble man were piled the bodies of the dead victims. Little children, passing to and fro from school, were witnesses of the bloody work. Women paused in their shopping tours to witness horrors scarcely equalled by torturing Apache Indians.

Little was done by the police or military authorities until after the race riot had proceeded to its end. There was no question as to the guilt or innocence of any of the parties, and no claim has ever been made that out of the twelve to fifteen negroes murdered, or of the scores assaulted, any one was guilty of any transgression whatever. In fact, it is charged by Professor DuBois, of Atlanta University, that those who were subjected to the attack were principally representatives of the more orderly, respectable, and prosperous element of the negro citizens of Atlanta. Certainly the fact that no pretence has ever been made that any of the slaughtered men was connected with crime is in itself a fact of tremendous significance.

But why add to the horrors of this description? The whole body of negro residents of the city was terrorized and driven to seek hiding places, so that when order was restored by the military within a day or two, the negro inhabitants

of Atlanta had practically disappeared. The newspaper reports say that the white people for a day or two were compelled to do their own household work, as all negro help had sought shelter to await the cessation of the murderous assaults. If the reader wishes to realize the extent of the savagery to which mankind is capable of descending at the present day, no better field of study may be found than the account of the Atlanta massacre of September, 1906, of which an accurate and temperate account may be found in the *American Magazine* for April, 1907.

Now, what is the result? First, the negroes, at least those of the better class, are leaving Atlanta, leaving the city whose name is forever tarnished by this horrible incident, and whose reputation to-day stands in the same rank with that of Kisheneff and Erzeroum.

Second, those of the race who remain carry in their hearts the spirit of sullen hatred towards the white race, and only await the day when in some fashion or in some manner revenge may be theirs. Among those leaving, or rather banished from, Atlanta is the Reverend Dr. W. J. White, for the last thirty years editor of the *Georgia Baptist*, of Augusta, Georgia, who took it upon himself to make some pertinent comments upon the slaughter of his countrymen and soon sought safety in exile. And throughout the North we find negroes meeting to discuss the massacre and listening to addresses breathing a bitter resentment against the enemies of their race. Those of kindlier spirit met in the churches in the North on a day specially set apart for prayer asking the great Ruler of the Universe to soften the hearts of their oppressors.

On October 7, 1906, the Reverend T. W. Henderson, pastor of the African Bethel Church in West 25th Street, New York City, referring to the recent massacre, thus addressed his audience in prayer:

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O Lord, if ever thy spirit is allowed to obtain dominion over our cruel oppressors of the South, then the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God will prevail. Our people have made the South rich by their unpaid toil, but to-day all of their goodness and their kindness to their oppressors availeth not. Therefore, Lord, extend over us thy protecting care.

And again, at the close of the year 1906, in New York City the negro churches held services, praying for a better era in the future in which their race should not be subjected to the oppression of that unfortunate year.

Christmas, 1906, the race war broke out again, in Kemper County, Mississippi, and before the slaughter had subsided nine negroes were killed and an indefinite number wounded, while one white man had also been a victim of this outbreak of racial animosity. The details are of the usual and almost unvarying character—trouble between the races, negroes are impudent and quarrelsome and the whites begin shooting, militia are called to the scene, order is restored, it is found that quite a number of negroes have been killed and an unknown number wounded; in fact, in the Kemper County incident, the newspapers narrated that after the hostilities had ceased, quite a number of negro bodies were found in various places; but quiet is restored, terror is infused into the hearts of the blacks, and civilization progresses. No accusation is made that anybody in particular has been guilty of any crime, no effort whatever is made to punish the known lynchers. In such case, not to punish is, in effect, to approve.

1. The horror of the Wilmington, Delaware, lynching, in which a negro was burned at the stake for an alleged assault, is still fresh in the memory of the reading public. In this, as in other instances, no serious effort was ever made to ascertain or convict the perpetrators

**Kemper
County
Troubles.**

**Other
Lynchings.**

of the crime. The usual coroner's verdict of death by causes unknown, or justifiable homicide, being returned, the necessary formalities are regarded as having been observed.

2. In Chattanooga, Tennessee, not satisfied with the conduct of the United States Supreme Court, which granted an appeal to a negro convicted of a capital crime and sentenced to be hanged, the mob took the accused from the jail and hanged him to a pier of the county bridge. The action of the mob in doing this has been made the subject of investigation by the United States Supreme Court in a proceeding to punish the sheriff for contempt in allowing the process of the court to be thus disregarded. But the negro is dead, contempt proceedings scarcely attract attention, and the community is ready for the administration of further justice upon the same principle.

3. In Annapolis, Maryland, December 21, 1906, a mob broke into the jail, seized a negro accused of assaulting a woman, and hanged him to a convenient tree, riddling his body with bullets. The jail was within two squares of the Executive Mansion, where the Governor of the state was peacefully sleeping, and the affair seems to have been conducted with a strict regard for all the proprieties to be observed on such occasions.

The reason given for this murderous performance was simply that it was needed as an object-lesson to the people in the quarters in which the subject of the violence lived. For this purpose the dignity of the state was outraged, scores of men became manslaughterers, officers of the law were overpowered, legal processes brought into contempt, and every possible indignity displayed to which a civilized community could be subjected. The only redeeming feature of this affair is the statement afterwards made by way of exculpation, that after all it was merely a prank of some of the young men of the city, and not worthy of serious attention.

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4. The year 1908 witnessed a remarkable outbreak of the lynching spirit. The number of these disgraceful episodes largely increased and the year was especially marked by an unusually serious race riot at Springfield, Illinois. Here at the handsome capital of one of the most orderly and progressive states in the Union, almost under the shadow of the homestead of the illustrious Lincoln, on the 14th day of August there occurred a series of murders of negroes which by their atrocious character shocked the civilized world. As a beginning, on a mere accusation of assault, an innocent negro was hanged by a bloodthirsty mob and his body riddled with bullets.

Crazed with the lynching mania, the rioters sought further victims and, incited by liquor and the lust for blood, in a night transformed the city to a very inferno of murder and arson. Three other negroes were murdered with unspeakable brutality and many other members of the race assaulted and driven from their homes. Three regiments of the state militia were called to the scene to preserve order, but days elapsed before quiet could be restored and the negroes assured of protection. In addition to the murders above recounted, over forty persons, mostly negroes, were more or less seriously injured, thirty or forty houses pillaged and burned, and hundreds of negroes forced to flee from the city.

The work of this cruel and conscienceless mob was complete, the negroes terrorized, the state of Lincoln disgraced, the nation dishonored, but the world has yet to learn that any punishment has followed this outbreak of lawlessness.

5. Nor does the lynching spirit confine itself to either race or sex. The preceding statistics present a considerable proportion of white victims in localities where negro lynching prevails. One of the most remarkable of the numerous lynching incidents reported by the Southern newspapers during the year 1907 occurred in March of that year at

Mars Hill, in southeastern Arkansas. This lawless outbreak resulted in the brutal murder of two young negro girls for what, at most, was evidently a trivial assault upon a white woman. The following account of the episode, copied from the columns of the local newspaper, presents in unadorned simplicity the details of the tragedy:

A FATAL AFFRAY

A fatal affray happened last Saturday at Wire Farm near Mars Hill as a result of which one colored girl is dead and another badly if not fatally wounded. The trouble arose through Ethel Taylor and Lizzie Taylor, daughters of Isaac Taylor (colored), assaulting one of Mr. Jack Rhoton's children. Mrs. Rhoton interfered for her children, when the Taylor girls assaulted her, cutting her on the shoulder with a knife or razor. The colored girls were arrested and taken to a schoolhouse near by that they could be guarded until the next day when they were to be given a preliminary trial. About midnight, however, some one shot through the window killing one of the girls instantly; another shot struck the other in the shoulder, wounding her as mentioned above. The dead girl, Lizzie Taylor, was about seventeen years old, the other, Ethel, is fifteen.

The death of the younger girl was afterward reported. But why continue? Scores of hangings, shootings, burnings, floggings, and minor indignities of every character could be described, and yet the recital add but little to the record of criminality hereinbefore set forth. We have read with youthful indignation of the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the treacherous slaughter of the wretched Highlanders at Glencoe, of the atrocities perpetrated during the Sepoy Rebellion, but we find in a section of our own country at the present day a record of murderous criminality difficult to parallel in the annals of any

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professedly Christian land. The world stands aghast at the spectacle.

The negro is not unobservant of the serious import of the lynching question, and occasionally his unavailing cry is heard in bitter protest. Professor Kelly Miller, in his recent open letter to John Temple Graves, entitled "An Appeal to Reason," after marshalling the statistics of Southern lynchings, says:

What a blot upon our citizenship these figures disclose to the foreigner who may still be sceptical as to the boast of our free institutions! What will Russia and Turkey and Cuba say? How long will Theodore Roosevelt, bent on setting the world to rights, keep his hands off?

But no negro protest and no negro prayer, neither submission nor antagonism, can avail against the lynching spirit which overrides all law, mocks the process of the courts, flouts all Christian principles, and degrades its participants to the level of the Modoc Indian or the head-hunters of the Philippine Archipelago.

What then, it will be asked, is the remedy for this intolerable evil? What may be done to banish the lynching spirit, from our land? And the answer must be, under the present condition of things, that very little can be done to accomplish such a desired result. While statistics show a marked and gratifying decrease in the number of lynchings, the practice itself seems to be spreading slowly northward, and race wars in the South appear to increase with the growing spirit of independence and self-assertion among the negroes.

Among the remedies suggested are speedier prosecutions of crime, the holding of sheriffs and other officers chargeable with the care of prisoners to a stricter accountability for their safety; and in some states the practice of requiring

the county to pay damages to the family of a person made the victim of lynching has been adopted. But all are futile and unavailing so long as the lawless spirit which prompts these desecrations of law continues to prevail.

How can a sheriff be expected to defend with vigor the life of an accused prisoner in his custody, when, as in Carroll County, Georgia, the result of a successful defence of the jail against the assault of would-be lynchers is the loss of his office at the next election? And how can, in reason, any cessation of the practice be expected when no prosecution is ever set on foot for the punishment of the crime?

In his message to Congress of 1906, President Roosevelt made the subject of lynching the occasion for a vigorous and characteristic denunciation of the practice, full of earnest discussion and directly pointed toward the extirpation of the custom; but his as well as all other homilies upon the subject will be to little purpose so long as the cause which provokes the crime is allowed to remain.

The negro problem, then, is inseparably connected with lynching, and while that problem is unsolved the lynching evil will likewise continue its vexatious existence. The most casual examination of the question will disclose that the problem is not a Northern one, very few lynchings occurring in that part of the country, and those, with rare exceptions, in cases where the negro is involved. It is in its present aspect an outgrowth of the negro problem, and the solution of the one carries with it the solution of the other.

Further, if this evil practice is permitted to continue, not only will the spirit of vengeance be engendered in the negro breast,—sure before long to result in further outbreaks of lawlessness,—but the lynching of white men, already quite prevalent in our country, will increase in like proportion. Lawlessness of this character breeds lawlessness, and the lynching appetite grows with what it feeds on.

Of late years we find in certain sections of our country lawless outrages against property and person becoming very common. The mob which lynches a negro charged with rape will not be long in finding an excuse for lynching an unpopular white man accused of any crime, or in storming a town and burning great manufacturing plants, as was done in Princeton, Kentucky, December, 1907. The spirit of lynching knows no race, no color, no sex, no religion, and has no respect for authority, human or divine. It is the recognized reproach of our land, the dark stain upon our jurisprudence; the one species of lawlessness which lays the foundation for all other lawlessness.

Little wonder that the civilized world is in amazement at our record, and that our eloquent protests against Russian atrocities or Congo outrages have but little weight. Little wonder that our eight million wards in the Philippine Islands are sceptical as to the ulterior purposes of our beneficent assimilation, when they see our own prosperous land day by day stained with so much innocent blood, and note the astonishing deeds of violence and outrage which go wholly unpunished because the victims belong to a helpless and inferior race.

The solution of the lynching problem lies in the solution of the negro problem on the lines laid down by Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER III

THE SOLUTION OF THE NORTH

Not in Hades alone

Doth Sisyphus roll, ever frustrate, the stone,
Do the Danaids ply ever vainly the sieve,
Tasks as futile does earth to its denizens give.

OWEN MEREDITH—*Lucile*.

STRICTLY speaking, the North offers no solution of the negro problem. Perhaps to the majority of the people of that section, engrossed in their personal concerns, unfamiliar with the history and gravity of the question, unappreciative of the importance of the underlying principles involved, the negro problem appears to be purely academic in its character. The average man or woman comes but slightly into contact with the members of the race, either in the city or rural districts. The negro rarely intrudes himself socially, and is infrequently found in sharp business competition with his white neighbor. The ordinary type of the professional or business man, mechanic or farmer, is serenely apathetic concerning the negro's existence; much less does he regard his welfare as being the subject of any special consideration. The negro is carelessly noted in connection with his usual humble employments. He is usually observed occupied around stables, acting as janitor of apartments, serving as elevator attendant in stores or hotels, or perhaps conducting some unpretending business enterprise. Occasionally some member of the race attracts particular attention by attempting to enter some more

ambitious occupation, usually receiving commendation from all except those brought into intimate association with him.

The negro women ordinarily are found employed in household service or as laundresses or charwomen; and in general both sexes perform their lowly duties without much friction and with very little assertion of individuality. There is, therefore, a reluctance upon the part of the unthinking majority to give the subject other than jesting consideration, or, at the most, an inclination to rate the problem as a matter needing no special attention, regarding it as one which in the very nature of things will in time bring about its own adjustment.

With the South the negro question is one of practical every-day importance, obtruding itself in its various relations upon the attention of every member of the community; in the North, on the contrary, the question in its first aspect has but little, if any, practical importance. Whatever discussion it evokes is confined exclusively to those whose mental horizon is capable of appreciating the gravity of the question and of comprehending the necessity for a final and adequate solution before the threatening evils originating in the negro's race inferiority, ignorance, and lack of opportunity for development become the pressing perils of the next generation. To those persons of the character first above noted, when the question presents itself at all, it is usually in connection with some casual discussion provoked by outbreaks of violence in the South, and in such instances it is the custom to dispose of the subject by saying, "Let the South settle the problem,—it is theirs. Why should we concern ourselves with it? They need them down South to do the work, and as far as voting is concerned it does not seem to be a question of any great importance. Here in the North we habitually buy the few votes the negro has, and down South he is not allowed to vote at all, so why should

we bother about the matter?" And with this facile method of disposition of the question, the average Northerner turns again to his work or recreation, satisfied that in some undefined but ultimately satisfactory way the negro problem will work out its own solution.

There are, however, in the North many thoughtful and philanthropic minds to whom this summary disposition of the subject is far from being satisfactory, and whose habits of thought are not so ordered that they can calmly survey the situation which has been depicted in the foregoing pages without feeling that there should be at least some effort made to bring about a remedy for the admitted and growing evil.

So from time to time we find the question discussed in the editorial pages of our Northern newspapers, the discussion usually being suggested by some peculiar manifestation of the problem in the South; while numerous articles in magazines are devoted to consideration of the acuteness of the question or suggestions for improving the general condition of the negro race.

When the leaders of education among the Southern negroes come North upon their annual quest for dollars to carry on the educational development of their people, the platform resounds with philanthropic suggestions for the amelioration of the condition of the African race, and with stirring appeals to the higher sentiments of the people of the community to aid the oppressed in their strivings for intellectual emancipation. So that the North is not entirely oblivious of the problem, but with varying intelligence and always in a spirit of altruism our clergymen, editors, authors, philanthropists, statesmen, and progressive women have advanced from time to time suggestions intended to lead to the solution of the problem. Let us follow our practice in the ascertainment of Southern opinion, and again summon to the witness

stand some of those best entitled to hearing, who have in public given expression to their views.

There is certainly no one in our country more qualified by natural gifts, historical knowledge, and intimate contact with the practical side of the problem, than the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States. In the autumn of the year 1905, President Roosevelt made an extended tour through the Southern States, in the course of which he visited the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama. This institution, under the wise and energetic management of President Booker T. Washington, stands in the forefront of all negro institutions as the most striking example of the success of the theory of joining with industrial education the teaching of those scientific and classical subjects so necessary in the development of the intellectual life.

On October 24, 1905, President Roosevelt paid this visit to Tuskegee. Although he had been the guest of the public officials of the state on the preceding day, he **Roosevelt at Tuskegee.** was unaccompanied on his visit to the institution by any white person of local standing or official character. Crowds of the country people, black and white, who had learned of his coming, had congregated in Tuskegee.

After the President had been received by President Washington and the officials connected with the Institute, he was taken in a carriage manufactured by the students, drawn by horses used upon the Institute farm, and, surrounded by students, was escorted to the reviewing stand which had been erected in his honor. There, encircled by negroes, he witnessed the parade of the teachers and students, the result of elaborate preparations which had been made by those connected with the institution. We are told that nearly fifteen hundred young negro men and women, arrayed in the uniform of the institution,—consisting of blue suits with

brass buttons, white gloves, and cadet caps on the part of the men, and on the part of the young women of blue dresses trimmed with red braid, and blue straw braid hats with ornamental ribbons,—marched to the music of the Institute band in front of the reviewing stand.

Following this display, we are informed by the newspapers that various floats representing the work of the students in the different departments passed by, greatly impressing the Chief Executive with the important character of the training conferred by the institution upon those receiving its benefits.

The situation was inspiring, the hour was timely, the negro was at his best, and President Roosevelt took occasion to present to the students in the Chapel of the Institute an address which may be deemed to contain his carefully expressed views upon the solution of the negro problem. The liberty is taken of quoting the essential points of this address, as better than any other statement known to the writer it embodies what may be considered as the Northern solution of the problem:

To the white population as well as to the black it is of the utmost importance that the negro be encouraged to make himself a citizen of the highest type of usefulness. It is to the interest of the white people that this policy be conscientiously pursued, and to the interest of the colored people that they clearly realize that they have opportunities for economic development here in the South not now offered elsewhere. Within the last twenty years the industrial operations of the South have increased so tremendously that there is a scarcity of labor almost everywhere, so that it is the part of wisdom for all who wish the prosperity of the South to help the negro to become in the highest degree useful to himself, and therefore to the community in which he lives. The South has always depended

and now depends chiefly upon her native population for her work. Therefore, in view of the scarcity not only of common labor but of skilled labor, it becomes doubly important to train every available man to be of the utmost use, by developing his intelligence, his skill and his capacity for conscientious effort.

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There are other and higher reasons that entitle the negro race to our support. In the interest of humanity, of justice and of self-protection, every white man in America, no matter where he lives, should try to help the negro to help himself. It is in the interest and for the protection of the white man to see that the negro is educated. It is not only the duty of the white man but it is his interest to see that the negro is protected in property, in life and in all his legal rights. Every time a law is broken every individual in the community has the moral tone of his life lowered. Lawlessness in the United States is not confined to any one section; lynching is not confined to any one section, and there is perhaps no body of American citizens who have deserved so well of the entire American people as the public men, the publicists, the clergymen, the countless thousands of high-minded private citizens, who have done such heroic work in the South in arousing public opinion against lawlessness in all its forms, and especially against lynching. I very earnestly hope that their example will count in the North as well as in the South, for there are just as great evils to be warred against in one region of our country as in another, though they are not in all places the same evils. And when any body of men in any community stands bravely for what is right these men not merely serve a useful purpose in doing the particular task to which they set themselves, but give a lift to the cause of good citizenship throughout the Union.

And right here let me say that if in any community a misunderstanding between the races arises over any matter, infinitely the best way out is to have a prompt, frank and

full conference and consultation between representatives of the wise, decent, cool-headed men among the whites and the wise, decent, cool-headed colored men. Such a conference will always tend to bring about a better understanding and will be a great help all round.

Hitherto I have spoken chiefly of the obligations existing on the part of the white man. Now let you remember on the other hand that no help can permanently avail you save as you yourselves develop capacity for self-help. You young colored men and women educated at Tuskegee must by precept and example lead your fellows toward sober, industrious, law-abiding lives. You are in honor bound to join hands in favor of law and order and to war against all crime, and especially against all crime by men of your own race: for the heaviest wrong done by the criminal is the wrong to his own race. You must teach the people of your race that they must scrupulously observe any contract into which they in good faith enter, no matter whether it is hard to keep or not. If you save money, secure homes, become taxpayers and lead clean, decent, modest lives you will win the respect of your neighbors of both races. Let each man strive to excel his fellows only by rendering substantial service to the community in which he lives. The colored people have many difficulties to pass through, but these difficulties will be surmounted if only the policy of reason and common-sense is pursued. You have made real and great progress. According to the census the colored people of this country own and pay taxes upon something like \$300,000,000 worth of property and have blotted out over 50 per cent. of their illiteracy. What you have done in the past is an indication of what you will be able to accomplish in the future under wise leadership. Moral and industrial education is what is most needed in order that this progress may continue. The race cannot expect to get everything at once. It must learn to wait and bide its time; to prove itself worthy by showing its possession of perseverance, of thrift, of self-control. The destiny of the

race is chiefly in its own hands and must be worked out patiently and persistently along these lines. Remember also that the white man who can be of most use to the colored man is that colored man's neighbor.

It is the Southern people themselves who must and can solve the difficulties that exist in the South; of course, what help the people of the rest of the Union can give them must and will be gladly and cheerfully given. The hope of advancement for the colored man in the South lies in his steady, common-sense effort to improve his moral and material condition, and to work in harmony with the white man in upbuilding the commonwealth. The future of the South now depends upon the people of both races living up to the spirit and letter of the laws of their several States and working out the destinies of both races, not as races, but as law-abiding American citizens.

In reading this discussion, by the President, of this momentous question, with all respect to the high authority of his office, to his scholarship, to his broad sympathy with humanity and evident desire to accomplish something toward the elevation of the negro race, it must be frankly said that these commonplace utterances add nothing of assistance to those who are seeking the solution of the problem. To counsel in general terms the blacks and whites to confer together; to commend honesty and thrift and to denounce crime; to call attention to the obvious fact that in the proportion that members of both races are actuated by honesty, decency, and fairness their relations will be more amicable and satisfactory, is to ignore the graver aspects of the present situation, and to leave the question at the end as unsettled as before the advice was delivered.

And common is the commonplace,
And vacant chaff well meant for grain.

As President Roosevelt saw pass in review the banners of

The Negro Problem

that hopeful procession of fifteen hundred ambitious negro youth of the South, and noted, as he must have done, the buoyant spirit which animated them on that occasion, it must have been to him a bitter reflection as he keenly realized how circumscribed must be their field of after usefulness, what bitter discipline awaited them when upon graduation they would find themselves ushered into a hostile community, even that day manifesting by the absence of its official representatives the indifference with which the efforts of the negro to obtain education are met in the South.

For the colored boys in that parade,—no vote, no position of influence in public affairs, no social standing, no representation in the jury box, no hope of participation in any of the great currents of thought and action flowing about them in the community. For the young women in that parade,—social ostracism, relegation to Jim Crow cars, inferior conditions and accommodations everywhere, exclusion from hotels, theatres, and other public places, and a confirmed attitude of disbelief in the community as to their desire or ability to lead lives of virtue and true womanhood.

The President's views of the race problem fairly typify what may be regarded in a general way as the vague Northern view of the measures necessary to the settlement of the question. The preponderating element of the thoughtful men in the North who have given it consideration appears to rely upon the effect of education, industrial and scholastic, to bring about an amelioration of the situation. A few more expressions of views of prominent individuals will make this manifest.

Dr. Felix Adler, the President of the Society for Ethical Culture in New York, has for years given profound study to the question. In an address before the Society at Carnegie Hall, January 10, 1904, he announced the one great hopeful remedy to be that of edu-

Other
Northern
Expressions.

cation. Vaguely he outlined his solution as that of treating the negro as an equal, and extending to him such material assistance in the way of education as may be essential to his improvement. Speaking of the negro he says:

A man is a man, and if he does n't come up to your standard the very best way of helping him to come up to it is to impute to him the responsibility of a man. Treat him as if he were a man; expect him to come up to the conduct of a man. And so while undue severity is wrong, undue leniency, too, is wrong. Excessive severity has for its effect the eliciting of vindictiveness and the creating of a solidarity of the whole race with its weakest members. It thus distorts the moral value, while undue leniency relaxes the moral fibre and creates a condition of mind in which moral values cannot even exist. So with education must go the equitable administration of justice. We do not yet dare to face our problem. We are constantly blinking it.

In recent addresses, Dr. Adler shows a less hopeful frame of mind, observing, in discussion of the question of negro social equality and the intermarriage of the races, that segregation is now absolutely imperative; and again recurring to the idea that negro education will prove the necessary panacea.

The Reverend Washington Gladden, clergyman, social student, and essayist, in his thoughtful paper on the problem in the *American Magazine*, January, 1904, after suggesting the possibility of a race conflict resulting from the present policy of the South to keep the negro in subjection, makes this suggestion:

What would be the issue of such a struggle? I have tried to think my way through this difficult problem, and I can see no other outcome of a strife of this nature than the segregation of the races. The nation would be compelled to intervene, and force the combatants asunder. After

such a strife, undertaken for such a purpose, it would be impossible for the races to live together: a portion of the Southern domain would have to be set apart for the blacks; we should have, probably, three or four states of which the population would be wholly composed of negroes, governing themselves, and represented in the Congress at Washington. The whites would be compelled to content themselves with such a portion of their territory as could be left to them; but they would be delivered from that terrible trouble and fear which now oppresses them, and could develop their civilization along their own lines.

But in the end, after impressively pointing out that the treatment of the negro in the North is in many respects quite as harsh as in the South, he closes with the following indefinite proposition:

Nevertheless, the problem at the South, as we have already seen, is a national problem, and we must not withhold our hands from doing what we can to help in its right solution there. With those true and brave witnesses whose voices we have heard, and with all who stand with them for the opportunity of the negro to be a man, we join ourselves in an earnest endeavor to open to him the gates of opportunity and to lift up before him the ideals of Christian civilization.

Somewhat on a different line, and much more practical, do we find the suggestion of Dr. Robert B. Bean, of Ann Arbor, in his essay on "The Training of the Negro" in the *Century Magazine* of October, 1906:

Taking a dip into the future, one sees the gradual forcing of the true negro, by competition, into the most degraded and least remunerative occupations. The large cities, with their inevitable blight of squalor and disease, will destroy great multitudes. Pitiless competition, merciless

corporations, disease, and other afflictions will cause a constantly decreasing negro population. Continual youthful aberrations and intermarriage will keep the ranks of the mulattoes recruited until they form a very considerable proportion of the colored people. The cross-breed negro will probably find a place in the economy of commercial life in the future. An ever increasing proportion of them are learning agriculture and the trades. A great many are becoming doctors, lawyers, and teachers among their own people. The negro business man is yearly increasing in numbers. Natural traders, they take to business like a horse to grass. The number of negro landowners is rapidly increasing.

But, after all, the familiar suggestion for the betterment of the negro and for the final solution of the problem **Education of the Negro.** urged by Northern theorists and doctrinaires, is that of education. And to this end the practical efforts of those interested in the cause of the negro have been largely directed. The General Education Board and the Southern Education Board, volunteer associations now having to some extent the sanction of the National Government in their operations, have for years paid special attention to the subject of negro education in the South. Not exclusively to negro education have their efforts been directed, but in the main such has been the purpose and practical direction of the work of the organizations.

Mr. Robert C. Ogden, of the Southern Education Board, has been especially active in this work, and annually with a party of eminent educational leaders of the North visits the South in the interest of negro education. With high motives, philanthropic spirit, and broad charity, for years he has been enthusiastic and prominent in this field of labor. As President of the Board of Hampton Trustees, he presided in the winter of 1907 at a meeting in behalf of Hampton

Institute in New York, and as the principal speaker on that occasion declared that the race problem in this country had reached such a stage that it could no longer be ignored. He continued in this strain:

But I am not a pessimist; this problem will be solved and it will be solved by the good men of the South.

We must, however, do our whole duty by the negro. Think of what will happen to our children and our children's children if we do not.

Certainly a remarkably lucid explanation of the gravity of the situation, and a peculiarly optimistic view of the probable outcome.

The late Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States, being called upon to give his views on the solution of the problem, directed a letter to the meeting of the Armstrong Association held for the purpose of discussing the question of educating and elevating the Southern negro, at the Concert Hall of the Madison Square Garden in New York last year, in which he expounded the following clarifying sentiments:

Cleveland
on the
Negro
Problem.

All our people and every section of our country are deeply concerned in the better equipment of our negro population for self-support and usefulness. There should be a general agreement as to the necessity of their improvement in this direction; and all good men should contribute in the manner best suited to their several circumstances to the accomplishment of this beneficent result.

Different sections of our country are affected in different degrees, and with greater or less directness; but it seems to me all must concede that no agencies can possibly do better service in the cause of negro amelioration than the institutions in which they are taught how to be self-supporting and self-respecting.

Yet Mr. Cleveland was familiar with the problem and had given it deep consideration. A writer in the *American Magazine* (September, 1908) quotes him as follows:

A long time ago, when people were not thinking or talking about the "negro problem," supposing it to be comfortably settled, I asked him what he thought was the greatest question before the country.

"Oh, there is only one," he said. "We can see our way through most of our difficulties. We can at least imagine a solution of all problems but one. But the negro question baffles everybody's understanding. No one knows what the answer is. No one knows when it will demand an instant answer. We can't take away the franchise from the negroes. No matter how foolish it was to give them a vote, we can't turn back. At the same time we can't let them gain political supremacy in the South. It will take centuries to educate them. I don't know what to think about it. It will be a burden on our children and our children's children."

At the same meeting, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has by his generous philanthropy earned the right to advance his views on the subject, thus states the solution of the negro problem:

We have destroyed one bad system, but constructive work is needed; the shackles may be off, but the slave of yesterday cannot rise to the height of full citizenship next day. Resolutions and party platforms, eloquent harangues upon liberty, equality, and fraternity, promote no healthy growth, produce no good fruit; even legislation cannot rid the state of the malady,—the cure is not political but social.

Mr. Carnegie added that the improvement of the South, both white and black, must be accomplished by the best

educated white element in the South, which is in sympathy with the views of the Northerner.

Mr. Charles A. Gardner, one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, delivered an elaborate address before the University on June 29, 1903, in the course of which he propounded a constitutional and educational solution of the negro problem. No one can read this learned, eloquent, and forceful essay without perceiving that Mr. Gardner has indeed a thorough realization of the supreme gravity of the situation. With masterly ability he propounds his theory that through education, and education alone, the salvation of the Southern negro may be brought about. He finds in the constitutional provisions for regulating citizenship the necessity for an adequate electorate, and on the strength of this necessity vehemently pleads for national aid to the Southern black for the purpose of advancing him to a full capacity for intelligent exercise of the voting privilege.

President-elect Taft finds the solution of the race question in industrial and thorough education which in time will make the negro eligible to exercise the electoral franchise. He assures the South that he is in sympathy with its efforts to prevent the domination of an ignorant and unprincipled electorate, and appears to consider that the problem will be solved when by thrift, education, and political progress the negro may acquire ability to participate in political affairs.

Hundreds of other similar quotations might be presented which, considered with those already cited, would suffice to indicate that the solution of the North, so far as it may be taking definite shape, is essentially based upon the theory that through education,—moral, intellectual, and industrial,—through the accumulation of wealth, by industry and by the exhibition of traits of thrift and ability, through the acquirement of a more prosperous station in life, the negro, with Northern aid, will eventually so elevate himself

as to compel the recognition of his political rights and social worth by the whites of the South, and thus establish himself as a valuable citizen. The hope is cherished that this will be effected by educational work in the South, assisted by voluntary contributions from Northern sources, and, if need be, by liberal subsidies from the national government.

Now, the fallacy of this view lies in the assumption that the higher the state of education and ability the negro can attain, the more wealth he can accumulate and the greater his prosperity, the more he will be liked and appreciated by the white race in the South.

**Fallacy of
the Argu-
ment for
Education.**

The contrary is always the case. The Southern negro who performs humble duties, who is content with menial occupation, who bears himself meekly, asks for no social equality, but stands in the attitude of hat in hand, is not ordinarily the subject of aggressive racial animosity. It is the negro who asserts his constitutional rights, who endeavors to raise himself to the level, social or political, of the white man, who meets with the sternest opposition. It is not necessary to cite illustrations of this patent fact. A careful reading of the newspapers will bring many to the reader's attention, and the argument could, if necessary, be re-enforced by the quotation of pages from DuBois, Kelly Miller, and other negroes familiar with this fact.

Race conflicts in the South usually have their origin in the effort of some negro or negroes to assert what are deemed to be rights, and usually cease "when the ringleader is disposed of." The theory that wealth will allay racial antipathies, that education will elevate the negro in the social world, that prosperity will bring about kindlier feelings between him and the whites, has been exploded in hundreds of instances. The natural conclusion of this consideration of the educational theory is, that the prosperity or promi-

nence of any particular negro in a Southern community, unless accompanied by a submissive disposition, makes him, *ceteris paribus*, more peculiarly the mark of race antipathy when the interest of the white race is in any way jeopardized by his ability.

Something more remains to be said upon this subject. There is danger in the theory of solution by education. It soon finds itself in sharp conflict with the plan which I have designated as the solution of the South. Were the country of one mind as to the methods to be employed to effect the settlement of the question, even then the successful outcome of the educational theory would be sufficiently doubtful; but in the present condition of Southern sentiment the continued attempt to solve the problem on these lines is likely to be fraught with most disastrous consequences. One cannot read the Southern newspapers or listen to the speeches of prominent men of that section, without noting the growing spirit of hostility displayed toward the efforts of the North to fashion and control the educational progress of the black man.

Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, denounces the ideas of equality which the negro receives from the North, and insists that all negro education shall be of an industrial character; ex-Governor Jelks, of Alabama, demands that all teaching of negroes shall be conducted by Southern white men, because his observation convinces him that, by reason of lack of understanding of the negro character, Northern and Eastern white men and women are mischief-makers when intrusted with this work.

The simple statement of President Schurman, of Cornell University, that the millions given by Rockefeller for national education if devoted to the civilization of the South would be far from tainted money, calls forth from one of Georgia's

foremost statesmen an outburst of vituperation worthy of ante-bellum times. He says, after exalting the higher standard of Southern society and institutions:

Sometimes the insolent ignorance of these arrogant and ill-mannered accidents in and out of the Northern educational circles makes us angry, but in this instance it but moves us to mirth and laughter.

Early in the year 1907, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, of Philadelphia, established a trust fund of \$1,000,000 for the betterment of the negroes of the South. The income of this liberal gift is to be devoted to the sole purpose of assisting, in the "Southern United States, community, country, and rural schools for the great class of negroes to whom the small rural and community schools are alone available."

Under the laws of the state of New York a corporation has been organized to administer the trust, with its principal office in New York City. The Board of Directors and Trustees, of some twenty-one members, is largely composed of Northern men prominent in educational and philanthropic work, and embraces five well-known members of the negro race. The announced purpose of the trustees, in their management of the income of the fund, is to supplement the resources of the Southern States in carrying on the work of rudimentary education. It is hoped by the advocates of this plan that the schools established and supported by the beneficence of Miss Jeanes will serve as object-lessons to the South as to methods and character of negro education.

To any one familiar with Southern views upon the subject of the education of the negro, the difficulties confronting these trustees appear very formidable. In the first place no Southern white man of social standing, no public official or leader of thought can afford to jeopardize his standing

among his people by in any degree associating himself with negro men upon a board of this character. To sit in conference with members of the African race, on terms of equality, is a thing not for a moment to be contemplated.

Further, upon the well established principle that in every character of enterprise those controlling the financial resources are in a position to dictate the conditions under which the funds are to be expended, it is clear that the Northern theorists with their negro coadjutors can never hope to agree with the local authorities in Southern communities as to the methods to be employed or the ends to which the interest of the fund is to be applied. The radically differing views of what constitutes the proper education of the negro will prevent any successful co-operation.

The derisive comments of the Southern press upon the project should enlighten those entrusted with its execution. The *Charleston News and Courier*, a typical newspaper of the section, in its issue of April 27, 1907, suggests the better plan to be "to take the negroes North and educate them there," where the advocates of the plan will be able to enjoy the refining influences springing from close association with them. After reviewing the industrial situation, North and South, as it affects the negro, and pointing out that in respect to securing employment the negro coming North finds a Chinese wall at Mason and Dixon's line, the article concludes:

Let the North give the negro the same "square deal" that it gives the white man and it will accomplish more in a day for his elevation than the endowment of schools in the South will accomplish in years.

Against this spirit, which, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, dominates the South, the \$50,000 income of the Jeanes fund will have about as much effect as the circulation

of an anti-slavery pamphlet had in Mississippi in the years preceding the Civil War.

The Southerner, glorying in his history and proud of his civilization, considers himself no subject for charity, educational or otherwise, and resents the imputation that his theory of negro education is not the correct one. While willing to receive assistance for educational purposes, he will accept it only upon terms involving no sacrifice of his self-respect, and demands in this case that he shall determine the character of the tuition of which the negro is to be the recipient. He extends but a frosty welcome to the band of educational pilgrims, who, under the title of the Southern Education Conference, annually invade his cities to render him unrequested assistance and to instruct him in his management of the colored population.

So long as it remains one of the infirmities of our human nature to dislike to accept advice from those whom we regard as less informed upon a subject than ourselves, the Northern idea of negro education will make but slight progress on Southern soil.

The same newspaper issues that contained the announcement of Rockefeller's unparalleled gift of \$32,000,000 to the National Education Conference for educational purposes, informed us of the progress of the hostile investigation of Tuskegee Institute by the Legislature of Alabama, which prevented President Booker T. Washington from making his usual Northern trip seeking contributions in the winter of 1907. Should other like liberal contributions to this fund follow, and an attempt on a large scale be made to extend the work of this doubtless well intentioned but unofficial and irresponsible body in the late slaveholding states, a recrudescence of sectional antagonism will surely follow. Under the theories of negro education at present obtaining in that section, to devote the fund to general education

would benefit the negro but slightly, while to attempt to apply it to the exclusive training of the black man on lines running counter to the views of the local school authorities could result in nothing less than educational chaos.

The difficulties resulting from the attempt to introduce a scheme of education at complete variance with the purposes of the community, and the futility of the endeavor to conciliate hostile public sentiment by irreproachable management, are aptly illustrated by the recent experience of Tuskegee Institute. The astounding success of this model institution has been a standing protest against the Southern belief in the absolute incapacity of the negro.

During the winter of 1907 this inimical spirit found expression in a legislative inquiry designed to reveal the shortcomings of the school and thus to bring reproach upon Northern ideas concerning negro education. The plan was thwarted by the excellence of the methods and the value of the results disclosed by the able and impartial investigator, Mr. Harolson. The hostile attitude, however, remains, and will be manifested at the first opportunity.

Mrs. B. Pullen-Burry, a travelled English woman, author of *Ethiopia in Exile*, who visited this country in 1904, tells,

An English Traveller at Tuskegee. in an interesting passage of her work, of her visit to Tuskegee Institute in November of that year, and

the reception of the news of Theodore Roosevelt's re-election by the teachers, scholars, and guests of the Institute in the Memorial Institute Chapel on election night. After graphically describing the scene in which, as she phrases it, she, as "an English woman, was the only representative of the Caucasian race," and in which she depicts the interest of the 1500 students, 100 teachers, and outsiders, making an assemblage of upward of 2000 people, she describes the prolonged cheering which followed President Booker T. Washington's announcement of the success of the

Republican party and his reading of the despatch of the defeated Democratic candidate congratulating President Roosevelt upon his victory. She continues:

At length the noise became furious, especially when returns were read from cities considered doubtful, showing the enormous popularity of the Republican candidate. Shortly after, Dr. Washington rose from his chair and read the defeated Democrat's telegram congratulating his opponent on his victory, the country having shown unmistakably its continued confidence in his leadership. Prolonged cheering relieved the tension of the preceding hours. That night there was no marching out to the sound of the band, no singing of negro songs and melodies; the girls first, in charge of their teachers, trooped out, then the youths passed in front of me into the starlight night with radiant, joy-lit faces, for their cause had won.

Outside the building, as they dispersed to their different dormitories, I expressed my surprise that they went off with so little noise, thinking how British lads under similar conditions would render night hideous with their yells and shouts. But the teachers escorting me to my quarters told me that instinctively the lads would repress any exhibition of feeling. Down below the hill, said they, the whites in the little town of Tuskegee would be feeling very sore at the overwhelming triumph of their political opponents, and would be in no humor to hear the colored people rejoicing. Dr. Washington, they said, always enjoined upon them to forego offering the smallest irritation to the white people in the neighborhood.

I can scarcely explain my own feelings as I partially realized what it must be to live, an alien and hated race, in a strange land; it was wisdom, learnt in a school of persecution, to train these young people to walk warily, to refrain from the expression of heartfelt joy which might awaken the latent enmity of the dominating race. I had not personally come in contact with race prejudice to any

extent, but a few days at Tuskegee convinced me it is no myth or fancy.

The solution of the South is definite and in present operation; that of the North vague, indefinite, and prospective.

Effect of the Solution of the North. Let us assume however, for the conduct of the discussion, that the Northern sentiment crystallizes in favor of a solution based on the educational

development of the negro, with no definite purpose beyond, and that by national assistance and individual generosity sufficient funds are provided to enable its advocates to put it into vigorous operation. What, then, are likely to be the effects of this method of solution?

In the first place, as we have in some part discussed, it would arouse the most intense opposition in the section sought to be benefited. Its consummation would involve the abandonment of what has been designated the plan of the South, and would in its practical outcome destroy in great measure the ascendancy of the white man over the negro by which alone the former claims that Southern civilization can be upheld. The clash of the two theories would embitter the relations of the sections, and the struggle, if continued, could only result in provoking a return of those animosities which have so deeply scarred our past history.

The negro, too, would suffer. Between the upper millstone of his assisted efforts to acquire intellectual training and political power and the lower millstone of social and industrial repression imposed by his environment, conditions harsher and more merciless than the present would be the result of the grinding.

Again, it may be asserted that the educational remedy is absolutely unavailing. Possibly centuries of education and business training might under favoring industrial circumstances bring about the desired result, but the expect-

tation that within any practicable period, and by the employment of any ordinary means, the negro, North or South, can be elevated to a condition of life in which, by reason of his education, wealth, or refinement, he will be admitted to equality with the white man will never be realized. All theories based upon this idea are illusory.

To make this clear, if, indeed, it needs further elucidation, let us assume that in the state of Mississippi, where 58.5 per cent. of the population are of negro blood, the ideal of the Northern theorist has been in the fullest degree attained. Consider the negroes, by some miraculous interposition, to have been elevated to the level of the whites, equalling the latter in all respects as to education, culture, courage, energy, wealth, and political sagacity. What would be the assured result? Would the whites accept the leadership of the majority and accord to the once despised black man political equality, social recognition, and official station? Not for one moment. Would we see a negro governor and other high state officials controlling the affairs of the commonwealth and representing it in the national councils, with the whites placidly submitting to be thus ruled and represented? Such a situation is not imaginable at the present or at any future time.

The logical and inevitable result of a condition of affairs as above described would be a race conflict of gigantic proportions, which would result, were no intervention to occur, in the establishment of the supremacy of the numerical black majority and the abandonment of the state by the white minority. But, of course, no such result could be allowed. Should the negro advance sufficiently to make him a formidable antagonist in race conflicts, civil war would supervene, the national government would of necessity interpose to restore order, and the dangers and embarrassments of the reconstruction period would recur.

The solution of the North is likewise impossible. Founded upon a fallacy, it leads to no conclusion, and, if persisted in, its ultimate result would be a war between the races, the precursor to a renewal of sectional strife.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL PHASE OF THE PROBLEM

In a confederacy founded on republican principles, and composed of republican members, the superintending government ought clearly to possess authority to defend the system against aristocratic or monarchical innovations. The more intimate the nature of such a union may be, the greater interest have the members in the political institutions of each other, and the greater right to insist that the forms of government under which the compact was entered into should be substantially maintained.—MADISON, *The Federalist*, Number 42.

THE subject of this chapter is the flagrant violation of the democratic principle underlying our institutions necessitated by the presence of the negro in large numbers in the Southern States. Our philosophy of government defines democracy as a society based upon the absolute equality of its members and of which the governmental organization is formed, controlled, and administered by the people themselves, exercising political power either by direct action or by means of chosen representatives. In the phrase of Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Such a form of government is alone possible where the great body of the people stand substantially on a plane of racial equality and where all privilege derived from race, birth, wealth, or even based upon public service, has been abolished. The existence of any permanent caste, created by wealth, color, or hereditary qualification, is fatal to the

full development of the democratic principle in government. Whether it be an aristocracy of birth, a privileged religious class, a predominant racial element, an influential land-owning minority, or any other form of special privilege, such an institution is incompatible with the existence of a truly democratic organization.

This ideal of democracy as a great social and political brotherhood, as it is understood in this country, in the present century, is of comparatively modern origin. In its present form it was unknown to the ancient world. The famed democracy of Athens, confined within a small and compact territory and with all political power exercised by a few citizens enjoying equality among themselves, in the midst of a far more numerous class of slaves, and also controlling a large foreign element, presents but a slight resemblance to our modern political organization. The Italian city republics of the Middle Ages, the Batavian republic, the commonwealth of Cromwell and Milton, all fall signally short of meeting the requirements of the system which, originating in the dreams of Rousseau, was placed for the first time in practical operation through the fervent belief in the capacity of man to govern himself which animated the first of all great democrats, Thomas Jefferson.

The fundamental conception of this democratic theory of government rests upon the substantial participation of the body of the people in the direction of their public affairs. Indeed, it may be said that it demands their practical unanimity in the intelligent administration of its concerns, their actual active participation in governmental business, combined with a sagacity to detect the shortcomings of their public servants, and sufficient ability and courage under all circumstances to displace, when necessary, those entrusted with official power and to substitute for them others, when the exercise of the administrative, legislative, or judicial

functions does not conform to the desires of the people. In so far as the operation of government falls short of this ideal it fails to be in fact representative democracy. The whole system must therefore be based upon the approximate equality of all its component members, as to their general qualifications for the exercise of governmental duties. Above all, it rests upon the theory that the people, as such, know better than any man or set of men what governmental measures are conducive to their permanent interests.

This modern democracy may be said to find expression only in Switzerland and the United States. The insignificant position of the former country in relation to the great world powers, the conservative character of its inhabitants, and the general unimportance of its political problems, attach to it but small consideration as a factor in the development of the democratic theory, and it is to our country alone that the world now looks, sometimes doubtfully, but usually in a hopeful spirit, for the solution of the question whether a government founded upon the principles of representative democracy can indeed permanently endure.

The philosophers of antiquity never conceived of such. Even in the ideal republic of Plato, where the final aim was the cultivation of virtue in citizens, leading to the acquirement of complete happiness by every member, society was organized upon a plan of classification of citizens antagonistic to our ideas of a modern commonwealth.

Sir Thomas More, in his fascinating description of the state of Utopia, wherein he dreamed of things much rather to be hoped for than ever expected, could not conceive his projected social organization as complete without the introduction of a class of bondsmen.

Now, how is this theory of democratic government to be carried into practical effect? Simply through the ballot-box. Lord Brougham said of the English Constitution, that

All we see about us, kings, lords and commons, the whole machinery of the state, all the apparatus of the system and in its various workings, end in simply bringing twelve good men into a box.

And in like manner, and with much greater emphasis, it may be said of our religious, political, and educational institutions, that our constitutions and statutes, our churches, schools, and lecture halls, our ballot-box laws and political campaigns, annually filling the land with turmoil and tumultuous eloquence, have each and all, for their ultimate object, the enabling of every citizen to attend at the polls and intelligently and without intimidation to deposit one ballot, with the assurance that that ballot shall be fairly counted, and with the further assurance that every other man of proper qualifications shall in like manner be entitled to deposit his ballot, and that for him also, one ballot and no more shall be counted.

To some of us it may seem that at times the measures adopted to secure this result are poorly calculated for that purpose. We are of late years relying altogether too much upon the machinery of complicated election laws, and upon a ballot system ill-adapted to the genius of a free people; a system which has a tendency to encourage the weakness and cowardice of underlings, rather than the open and manly performance of the high public duty involved in the exercise of the franchise. However, this is apart from the subject. In hopeful general terms we may confidently say that while we are yet far away from the ideal electoral system of a great democracy, with one notable exception the nation is gradually approaching toward its attainment.

The exception to which reference is made is the condition attending the exercise of the franchise in the Southern States of the Union. No graver suffrage problem ever confronted a nation, and never in its aspects of gravity was the prob-

lem apparently more hopeless than at the present time. To those who intelligently comprehend what is involved in the operation of our republican form of government, and who are familiar with the evils which lurk in the illegal deprivation of a great body of citizens of their right to participate in their ordinary governmental affairs, the situation in the South is of a deplorable character.

In order to understand the condition there prevailing it will be necessary to give some attention to the origin of the trouble, and at some length to review the history of the partial enfranchisement and subsequent total disfranchisement of the negro race throughout the South.

We have noted in our hasty review of the history of the problem the circumstance that prior to the Civil War the negro was not in general considered a citizen of the different states, and consequently was not entitled to citizenship of the United States. By judicial decision (The Dred Scott Case, 19 Howard, 393) he was debarred from national citizenship. The privilege of voting was, therefore, generally denied to him. In five of the New England States, where his numbers rendered him a negligible factor, he was permitted freely to exercise the suffrage, and to a restricted degree Connecticut accorded to him this same privilege. In the state of New York, could he show himself to be the owner of real property of some considerable value free of all incumbrances, after a residence of three years he might vote. In the other Northern States, without exception, white men alone were considered worthy of the franchise. Even Kansas, the scene of the final struggle between freedom and slavery, the state consecrated by the efforts of the North to the cause of freedom, denied to the negro the right to vote.

The close of the Civil War and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which almost im-

Effect of the
Negro on the
Democratic
Principle.

mediately followed, left the negro in an anomalous situation. This amendment, of which the ratification was announced by the Secretary of State, December 16, 1865, is as follows:

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

By force of the amendment he had ceased to be a slave, and by the authority of the Dred Scott decision he was not a citizen. For lack of a better term he was denominated a freedman, and while in contemplation of the law he may have been considered free, he soon found that in practice his freedom was of the most limited character.

The present generation has but little conception of the grave difficulties attending the problem of reconstruction which followed the war, or the embarrassments of Reconstruction. with which the lawmakers found themselves confronted in endeavoring to reorganize representative government in the states lately in rebellion. It is easy at the present time glibly to characterize the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress as being a mistake and to criticise the motives of those responsible for its adoption. But now, as then, with our limited human wisdom, it is difficult to demonstrate that any other or better method could have been devised and adopted.

Upon strictly logical methods of reasoning, two diametrically opposite plans for the purpose of effecting the reconstruction of the lately rebellious states presented themselves for the choice of Congress. Historical precedents warranted the government, successful after a war imposing upon the North untold expense and suffering, in regarding the Southern

States as conquered territory, and in subjecting them to such onerous conditions upon reinstatement to their former status and privileges as would render a repetition of the offence against the nation's life in the future impossible. Some of the radical but far-seeing statesmen of the reconstruction era demanded the confiscation of the land and other property of the slaveholders of the South, and its distribution among the emancipated negroes as compensation for their toil in the past and security for their future defence. "Forty acres and a mule" has passed into a jest, but in its serious aspect the phrase embodied a philosophic principle which logically carried into operation would have at least afforded the negro some chance for political freedom and substantial progress in the acquisition of property. Some effort, indeed, was made upon these lines. The Freedman's Bureau was organized for the purpose of supplying the lately emancipated slaves with the necessaries of existence, and the placing of these homeless people on all abandoned and confiscated land. The plan went even farther than this, and the President was authorized to set apart from the unoccupied government lands in Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas, three million acres of good land for the use of the freedmen under the Homestead and Pre-emption Laws, and the Bureau was further authorized to purchase tracts of land when necessary for their use. But the hostility of President Johnson to the reconstruction measures, and the general inefficiency with which the affairs of the Bureau were conducted brought the scheme to naught, and the negro remained a landless dependent in the midst of the naturally fertile country cleared and improved by his enforced industry.

It needs no Henry George with his eloquent *Progress and Poverty* to convince us that to the landowning class belong honor, wealth, and political power, and that

under these circumstances the landless and voteless negro would inevitably remain the dependent of his former master.

It is said that Alexander the Second, then Emperor of Russia, criticised our abolition of slavery, declaring that unless the lands of the South were appropriated to the freedmen emancipation would be but a mockery and the establishment of serfdom the inevitable outcome. And so it has proved. With a subconscious perception of this great economic truth, the negro is to-day seeking to become a freeholder in the South, and the more sagacious minds of the race are continually urging him to seek acquisitions in this direction. Should he profit to any great extent by this excellent advice, and become the owner of extensive areas of improved and well developed property, so much the greater in proportion will the gravity of the problem become and the final solution so much the more difficult.

The radical method of dealing with the leaders of the states lately in rebellion, viz., execution or expatriation for the prominent officials and soldiers, confiscation of lands and other property, and total disfranchisement of all concerned in the rebellion, happily failed of adoption. And for the moment the opposite plan, inspired by what might be regarded as undue liberality towards the defeated, seemed likely in all its generous features to prevail.

What Lincoln's plan would have been we have no means of knowing. It never had been indicated by him except that by the most tentative arrangements he had sought to allow some of the seceding states when conquered to be restored to their former relations under careful safeguards restricting the suffrage to those evincing loyalty to the Federal Government. In his last public address, delivered but three days before his assassination, he disclaimed adherence

to any exclusive and inflexible plan and stated that he was considering the duty of making some new announcement on the subject to the people of the South.

His successor in the beginning professed an endeavor to follow in Lincoln's footsteps, and on the 29th of May, 1865, issued an executive proclamation of amnesty and pardon, which, while excluding from the franchise the ruling classes of the old slaveholding aristocracy, restored political power to the great mass of the white men of the South. For it must always be remembered that the slaveholders of the South constituted but a small minority of the population, less than 350,000 in all, by the census of 1860.

Following the amnesty proclamation provisional governors were appointed for the Southern States, and during the summer and autumn of 1865, all of the lately seceding states, except Texas, held state conventions, and either repealed or declared as void *ab initio* the ordinances of secession, abolished slavery, repudiated all debts and obligations incurred in the aid of rebellion, and in many instances elected Senators and members of the House of Representatives to represent them in Congress. For the moment it appeared as though reconstruction would be promptly accomplished without difficulty, and without grave change in the governmental institutions of the states so recently at war with the national existence. The transformation was effected with astounding celerity.

Ex-Secretary of State Blaine, in his work *Twenty Years of Congress* (page 88), notes the fact that when Congress adjourned March 3, 1865, Alexander H. Stephens was occupying the position of Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. When it reassembled in December of the same year, Mr. Stephens was in Washington with full credentials, asking admission to a seat in the United States Senate as a representative of the sovereign and reconstructed common-

wealth of Georgia, and eagerly ready to engage in the legislation of reconstruction.

But the negro was not forgotten. The sentiment of that era in the North was much keener in recognition of his needs and in protection for his weakness than it is at the present time, and the statesmen of that section had not failed to note the vindictive and malicious hatred displayed toward the emancipated slaves, who during the year succeeding the war were absolutely without legal status or means of asserting their newly attained freedom. Shorn of the protection guaranteed by the master's interest, ignorant, poverty-stricken, inflamed with hope born of their new but untested privileges, their conduct toward the whites was anything but conciliatory. A spirit of hostility between them and the white population was immediately engendered. Throughout the South laws of the harshest character, whose only purpose could be the return of the negro to virtual slavery conditions, were adopted by the ruling class, and while these laws were framed with such malignant cunning as not to be limited in specific form to the freedmen, in their execution they were exclusively confined to that race; indeed, in practical operation, the law of the shotgun and rawhide ran unopposed and without appeal from the Potomac to the Mexican border.

The adoption of the Southern plan of reconstruction with its ensuing results did not commend itself to the Congress which assembled in Washington in December, 1865, and accordingly that body adopted an amendment to the Constitution designed forever to place beyond question the right of the negro to citizenship, and to impose upon any state depriving him of the privilege of exercising the franchise a corresponding abridgment of its power and influence in the Electoral College and in the House of Representatives.

**The Con-
dition of
the Negro.**

**The Four-
teenth
Amendment.**

This amendment, known as Article XIV of the Federal Constitution, the ratification of which was announced by the Secretary of State July 25, 1868, so far as it bears upon this discussion is as follows:

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

The purpose of this amendment as it came from the hands of its framers is not susceptible of misapprehension. It was designed, first, to establish in the fundamental law of the land the status of the negro as a citizen, and to guarantee that as such citizen no state should deny or abridge his privileges to life, liberty, or property, except in the same manner and to the same degree in which this might be done

as to any other citizen. And secondly, that should any state, for reasons considered by its Legislature as sufficient, deny or abridge to any considerable portion of its citizens the privilege of participating in the selection of officials of high rank, its representation in the Electoral College and in the House of Representatives should in like measure be diminished.

During the winter of 1866-1867, the Fourteenth Amendment having been submitted to all the Southern States, then seeking readmission to the Union, excepting Tennessee, it was with substantial unanimity by all contemptuously rejected. It will be noted that this amendment did not, and does not at the present time, forbid any state from excluding the negro from the suffrage, but that it simply denounces the penalty of proportionate loss of political power for such action. Mr. Blaine points this out in his work above cited at page 266, where he says:

As a matter of historical truth which has been ingeniously and continuously, whether ignorantly or malignantly, perverted, this point cannot be too fully elaborated nor too forcibly emphasized: *the Northern States, or the Republican party, which then wielded the aggregate political power of the North, did not force negro suffrage upon the South or exact it as a condition of readmitting the Southern States to the right and privilege of representation in Congress until after other conditions had been rejected by the South.*

Mr. Blaine may certainly be regarded as an authority upon this subject, since he took a leading part in the discussion of the amendment in Congress, being the first to propose the reduction of representation where disfranchisement was employed. He might with truth have said: *Quorum pars magna fui.*

Such was, indeed, the fact, and it is very unlikely that if

in the first instance this amendment had been accepted by the South there would have followed an insistence upon the negro's right to the suffrage. Be that as it may, upon the rejection of the amendment the course and policy of reconstruction changed. A bill establishing military rule throughout the South was promptly put in operation, and new constitutional conventions were called in every Southern state. From these bodies the former controlling elements of intelligence, property, and lawmaking experience were excluded, and they were composed principally of ignorant freedmen recently emancipated from slavery. With them were joined some few Northerners known as "carpet baggers," principally adventurers desirous of obtaining rapid political advancement, and a small percentage of generally well-meaning but unimportant Southerners to whom the opprobrious term of "scalawag" was attached.

Under the protection of the military power and out of this combination of heterogeneous forces, state constitutions were evolved and adopted. The ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment soon followed, and on June 27, 1870, Georgia, the last of the Southern States to seek admission, was restored to representation in Congress, and the process of reconstruction, in form at least, was completed.

Before this time it had become apparent that the protection afforded to the negro by the Fourteenth Amendment was insufficient to secure to him the privilege of the franchise. By the second section of that amendment it was permissible for a state to deny or abridge the exercise of the right to vote for conditions arising out of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; the only penalty for such state action being a proportionate diminution of representation in the Electoral College and in the House of Representatives. As the amendment itself prescribed no self-executing method for effecting such a

The Fifteenth Amendment.

reduction of representation, the difficulty of carrying its minatory provisions into effect was so great that the penalty involved was but of shadowy character.

It was, therefore, thought essential to the more complete development of the plan of reconstruction that any discrimination whatever based upon race should be forbidden; and for that purpose the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Congress February 27, 1869, and of which the ratification was announced by the Secretary of State March 30, 1870, was adopted.

This amendment is as follows:

ARTICLE XV.—Section 1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

It has sometimes been contended that the adoption of this amendment neutralized the effect of the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, but such is clearly not the case. Its effect may well be stated in the words of ex-Secretary Blaine (*Twenty Years of Congress*, page 418):

The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment seriously modified the effect and potency of the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Under that section a state could exclude the negro from the right of suffrage if willing to accept the penalty of the proportional loss of representation in Congress which the exclusion of the colored population from the basis of apportionment would entail. But the Fifteenth Amendment took away absolutely from the state the power to exclude the negro from suffrage, and therefore the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment can refer only to those other disquali-

fications never likely to be applied, by which a state might lessen her voting population by basing the right of suffrage on the ownership of real estate, or on the possession of a fixed income, or upon a certain degree of education, or upon nativity, or religious creed. It is still in the power of the states to apply any one of these tests or all of them, if willing to hazard the penalty prescribed in the Fourteenth Amendment. But it is not probable that any one of these tests will ever be applied. Nor were they seriously taken into consideration when the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress. Its prime object was to correct the wrongs which might be enacted in the South, and the correction proposed was direct and unmistakable, viz., that the nation would exclude the negro from the basis of apportionment wherever the state should exclude him from the right of suffrage.

In reading this passage, penned but slightly over twenty-five years ago, we note the marked change of opinion in regard to this essential element of free government. The eminent author somewhat naïvely says that it is exceedingly unlikely that any restriction of the suffrage based upon the ownership of real estate, possession of a fixed income, educational qualifications, nativity, or other like reason, will ever be applied. But the very discriminations which he considered so improbable are now in practical operation throughout the entire Southern section of the country. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is inoperative, the negro having been disqualified from voting, not in form on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but, as a matter of substance, by ingeniously worded provisions of law applying substantially the same tests to the race. This cannot be better illustrated than by quoting a statement of how such disqualification is effected, from the Supreme Court Reports of the state of Mississippi (20 *Southern*

The Purpose of the Amendment Frustrated.

Reporter, 865), where in speaking of the plan adopted by the Constitutional Convention of the state of Mississippi, the Court say (the italics being those of the writer):

Within the field of permissible action under the limitations proposed by the Federal Constitution, *the Convention swept the field of expedients to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the negro race*. By reason of its previous condition of servitude and dependency, this race had acquired or accentuated certain peculiarities of habit, of temperament and of character, which clearly distinguished it as a race from the whites. A patient, docile people; but careless, landless, migratory within certain limits, without forethought; and its criminal members given to furtive offences rather than the robust crimes of the whites. Restrained by the Federal Constitution from discriminating against the negro race, the Convention discriminates *against its characteristics* and the offences to which its criminal members are prone.

We may also note in passing that the Fourteenth Amendment, the prime object of which, in the words of Mr. Blaine, was "to correct the wrongs which might be enacted in the South," and the sole purpose of which was to afford protection to the negro, is now being utilized to effect results never dreamed of by its framers. From its original design it has been diverted by recent legal development to the unlooked-for purpose of protecting great financial interests from hostile state legislation claimed to be confiscatory under the clause forbidding the states to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

Typical of similar action taken by other Southern States, this constitutional discrimination is against the citizens of the state possessing the characteristics of the negro and not against him *eo nomine*. So that in so far as these amendments to the Federal Constitution were intended to confer

upon the negro citizenship and the privilege of participation in governmental affairs, we shall later see that their operation has been completely nullified, and that as to the supposed beneficiary, while they keep the promise to the ear they break it to the hope.

For a time this did not seem to be the case. From the fact that a large proportion of the more intelligent white population of the South was deprived of the franchise by the measures adopted for reconstruction, the negro, under white tuition, emboldened by the presence of the military forces of the government throughout the South, for several years in substance ruled that section of the country.

Occasion will not be taken here to review the history or to describe the operations of what were known as the carpet-bag governments as they existed in the South between 1869 and 1877. Their general characteristics are familiar to all students of our history. Some effort at constructive work was made, a few measures of value were adopted, but in the main ignorance and venality dominated the state governments. The record of corruption, maladministration, and disgraceful profligacy in governmental affairs cannot be surpassed, if indeed it may be paralleled, in any civilized community.

Out of this orgy of negro domination, the South emerged upon the withdrawal of the Federal troops in 1877, and once more, by force of natural character and traditional capacity, the white man assumed control of the state governments. The record of the reconstruction period is a sad, disgraceful episode in our history, the pity being that the necessity should ever have arisen for producing such a stain upon the record of a civilized nation.

Following the withdrawal of the troops by President Hayes in 1877, the white men of the South were left untrammelled to deal with the subject of negro suffrage, and

the ensuing thirty years have marked a continuous process of elimination of the negro vote. Slowly in the beginning, but with rapidly accelerating pace, in every state from Pennsylvania to Mexico, the negro has been deprived of all power of participation in governmental affairs. For years the supervision exercised by Congress over the election of its members gave the black man some assurance of protection at the polls, but with the repeal of the Federal Election Law, and the defeat of Harrison upon this issue in 1892, every vestige of practical power of interference in his behalf disappeared, and the absolutely unqualified disfranchisement of the negro was but a question of the briefest time.

It is true that this has not been done without the strenuous protest of one of the great political parties in the North. The platforms of that party and the messages of its Presidents have on many occasions contained indignant expostulation against this disfranchisement of the negro on the part of the Southern States, and have demanded a corresponding reduction of Southern representation. But protests have been disregarded, threats have become stale and ineffectual, and the fixed and undeniable result effected is the complete suppression of the negro vote throughout the South. Let us see how this has been brought about.

The principal influence by which this was originally accomplished was that of the exercise of the natural control belonging to the more wealthy, intellectual members of the dominant race, accustomed to discharge the functions of government and familiar with every expedient by which the negro population could be overawed, and by no means overscrupulous in the employment of any policy likely to deter the negro from the exercise of the franchise. Dominated by the exercise of the unquestioned superior mental power of the Caucasian race, supplemented whenever

necessary by the exercise of physical force, amounting if required to a species of terrorism, the black man, naturally submissive and tractable, and standing in awe of his former master and present employer, was gradually reduced to a condition of political subjection.

Whenever necessary, force was employed, but for years to prevent the negro from voting the main reliance was upon this species of moral coercion. If, however, he did insist on exercising the privilege, his ignorance made it easy, by the use of "tissue ballots" and like fraudulent devices, to insure that his vote should not be counted if likely to be effective in the result.

In order to make this temporary condition one of permanency, it was soon found essential that restrictions should be wrought into the fundamental law of the community, for so long as the great constitutional amendments designed to confer upon the negro citizenship and the right of suffrage left him in possession of the naked legal right, it was found difficult to repress his growing desire to utilize the franchise. Accordingly, it became necessary, for the successful operation of permanently disfranchising influences, to have these restrictions embodied in some local statutory form in order that they might be enforced with at least ostensible legality.

For that purpose, from time to time, beginning in 1890 with what was called the Mississippi plan, certain constitutional amendments and legislative enactments have been adopted by the Southern States to bring about the disfranchisement of the negro, the purpose of these measures being in every case by craft and subterfuge to violate the spirit of the Federal Constitution by depriving the negro of his vote, while at the same time in form complying with its requirements by avoiding all mention of race or color. The disqualifications imposed upon the negro by these various

**Methods of
Disfranchisement.**

constitutional provisions and the laws passed for their enforcement fall readily under three classes.

First: Those based upon considerations of ancestry, conferring the unrestrained privilege of voting upon those who exercised that privilege at some time prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and to their descendants, thus, without naming him, excluding the negro.

This method of discrimination is commonly known as the adoption of the "grandfather clause," of which the statute now in force in the state of North Carolina may be taken as a fair example. The provision in that state is, that any one who was entitled to vote on January 1, 1867, and the male descendants of such person, are entitled to vote irrespective of all other qualifications. This arrangement, coupled in some states with a provision that the franchise is not to be taken from any one who participated in any of the wars in which this country has been engaged or his male descendants, prevails in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and is, of course, effectual in relieving white men of the favored class from the disabilities imposed by the following requirements.

Second: A property qualification, which generally prevails throughout the Southern States, as a rule requiring as a prerequisite for the exercise of the franchise the ownership of at least three hundred dollars' worth of real or personal property. This expedient is sufficient in itself to effect the disfranchisement of a large proportion of the negro male population.

To this requirement is frequently added the imposition of a poll tax to be paid some considerable period of time before the election, a provision admirably adapted to deter the improvident negro from the exercise of the voting privilege.

Third: Lest by thrift and industry the negro should succeed in qualifying himself as a property holder, an educa-

tional qualification is superimposed in nearly every one of the states mentioned. If this in itself were a simple definite test of intelligence, perhaps no reasonable objection could be interposed to its adoption; but as it is usually left to the registering officers, white men, of course, to examine the applicant for registration, and to pass upon his qualifications, the elastic educational requirement affords an easy method of repressing the desire of the negro to participate in election affairs.

The vague character of the educational tests existing in the South will appear from the following sample provisions:

In Mississippi the applicant "must be able to read, or understand when read to him, any clause in the Constitution."

In Alabama the voter "must be a person of good character, and who understands the duties and obligations of citizens under a republican form of government."

And in varying phrase, in the other Southern States, similar qualifications are required of the ignorant aspirant for the privilege of exercising the franchise.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding of the character of the measures adopted to bar the negro from voting, some of the provisions now in force in the states of the South will be briefly considered:

As Maryland has comparatively a small negro population, and the political parties are fairly evenly divided, the white men have difficulty in eliminating the negro as a political factor. Both parties are, however, substantially agreed upon the subject.

In the chapter entitled "The Solution of the South" the provision upon this subject contained in the Republican state platform of 1904 will be found quoted at page 170, and the following from the Democratic platform of 1905 sufficiently indicates the attitude of that party upon the subject:

**State Pro-
visions for
Disfran-
chisement.**

Maryland.

Our Democratic Legislature of 1904, clothed with this power and exclusively charged with this duty and responsibility, proceeded with care and deliberation to frame an amendment which, while avoiding all conflict with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, will, if adopted, rescue us in Maryland from the blight of ignorant and debased negro suffrage.

It will keep from our registration books the names of thousands of ignorant and venal negroes totally unfit to vote, and will thus go far to lessen the evils of absolute and unrestricted negro suffrage.

It will give us the great and inestimable boon of intelligent manhood suffrage and secure to us the priceless benefit of the political supremacy of the white people of the state.

It is but fair to say, however, that the amendment proposed in 1905 and designed forever to exclude the negro from participation in the government of the state of Maryland, failed of adoption. This, however, was because it went too far in its disfranchising features, and thus caused apprehension among the numerous foreign-born white voters of the state that by its operation they also would be debarred from exercising the privilege of voting.

The Virginia law exacts a property qualification on the part of the voter of the ownership of three hundred dollars in real or personal property, and also the ability to understand and explain when read to him any section of the Constitution, and gives the right to any one engaged in the military service of the state to register irrespective of other qualifications.

The North Carolina laws are of the same general nature, and we find the following extract in the Democratic state platform adopted at Greensboro, July 3, 1906, expressing congratulation upon the successful working of the plan of disfranchisement:

We can congratulate the people of North Carolina upon the successful operation of the constitutional amendment regulating the elective franchise. The adoption of this measure has permanently solved the race problem, which had so long agitated the public mind and was a menace to peace and good government.

In its operation the assurances made by the Democratic party to the people, that no white man would be disfranchised thereby, have been fully verified, and the prediction of the Republican party to the contrary proven false.

The South Carolina Constitution is of a somewhat different character, and here we first encounter the distinctive development of the new political institution brought into existence by reason of the restriction of suffrage to the white race.

In this state, without any special laws for the purpose, but simply by the overawing of the black man, his vote has been eliminated, and the political affairs are regulated in the one party of the state by means of the primary. There being but one party, the claims of all aspirants for office, and the adoption or rejection of all important measures of government are determined by the primary election, the subsequent general election being simply a ratification of the result of the primary.

In form in South Carolina, under the constitution of the Democratic party, negroes may vote at the primary, the condition for voting being as follows:

At the primary election only Democratic white voters who have been residents of the state twelve months and the county sixty days preceding the next general election, and such negroes as voted the Democratic ticket in 1876 and as have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since, to be shown by the certificate of ten white Democratic

voters who will pledge themselves to support the nominees of such election, may vote.

We can readily see from the simple and easily-complied-with requirements of this provision of the Democratic white men's primary what ample opportunity exists for a negro to participate in the selection of the officers of the state government.

There is a substantial minority party in the state of Georgia, and the primary system has been adopted as a permanent policy for the selection of United States Georgia. Senators, state officers, and Supreme Court and Appellate Court judges. At the Democratic convention held September 4, 1906, the following self-laudatory plank was adopted:

The white primary evolved out of our perplexities is a marvellous triumph of self-government and should always be retained and strengthened; back of it, however, hangs the lowering threat that whenever the hosts of privilege need support they will seek to divide our people and by means of the corrupt and venal negro vote retain the balance of power. We favor the adoption of an educational qualification for voting, along the lines followed by our sister states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The amendment ought to be so drafted as to exclude the largest possible percentage of the ignorant and purchasable negro vote under the limitations imposed by the Federal Constitution.

The result of the election on this issue in this most progressive state of the South is thus succinctly stated by the *Atlanta Constitution*, March 31, 1907:

The people of this state have declared, by an overwhelming vote, for the disfranchisement of the negro. Even those who regarded such legislation as unwise, un-

necessary and dangerous, promptly acceded to the popular will as expressed at the ballot-box. Ex-Governor Northen has himself repeatedly declared, in the most positive terms, that disfranchisement had nothing whatever to do with his campaign for law and order. It is understood, and agreed by everybody, that the Legislature, at its approaching session, will frame a constitutional amendment embodying the people's wish in this respect, with the sole stipulation that no white man shall be disfranchised, as pledged. "Disfranchisement" is therefore a dead issue in Georgia. It is no longer open to debate.

The Legislature of 1908 justified the expectations of the people by proposing an amendment to the Constitution containing drastic measures for negro disfranchisement, which amendment was promptly ratified by the people at the general election held on October 7, 1908, to take effect January 1, 1909, and of which the following are the leading features:

In order to register and vote, in addition to the ordinary requirements as to age, sex, and residence, the would-be elector must have paid, at least six months before election, all taxes required of him since the adoption of the Georgia Constitution of 1877.

Upon compliance with this provision he may then vote if in addition thereto he comes within either of the five following classes:

1. All persons who have honorably served in the land or naval forces of the United States in the Revolutionary War, or in the War of 1812, or in the war with Mexico, or in any war with the Indians, or in the war between the States, or in the war with Spain, or who honorably served in the land or naval forces of the Confederate States, or of the State of Georgia in the war between the States, or

2. All persons lawfully descended from those embraced

in the classes enumerated in the subdivision next above, or

3. All persons who are of good character, and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government, or

4. All persons who can correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State and correctly write the same in the English language when read to them by any one of the registrars, and all persons who solely because of physical disability are unable to comply with the above requirements, but who can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State, that may be read to them by any one of the registrars; or

5. Any person who is the owner in good faith in his own right of at least forty acres of land situated in this State, upon which he resides, or is the owner in good faith in his own right of property, situated in this State and assessed for taxation at the value of five hundred dollars.

Par. 5. The right to register under subdivisions one and two of paragraph four shall continue only until January 1, 1915.

This amendment contains the most ingeniously devised provisions for the elimination of the negro vote.

By the imposition of a poll tax to be paid at least six months before election the mass of the negroes may easily be disfranchised. Should a few, however, pay this tax such ambitious black men would find themselves called upon either to comply with a severe property qualification or to reach a vague standard of intelligence, from which requirements, by the operation of the "Grandfather Clauses" of the first and second subdivisions, the majority of white men would be exempt. In the hands of hostile white registrars the negro who could establish his "good character"

and demonstrate his understanding of "the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government" would certainly need to be of exceptional character. The amendment effects the permanent disfranchisement of the negroes of Georgia.

The same general system of white primary elections prevails in Florida, the negro vote appearing to be completely eliminated. The last platform of the dominant party contains the following:

Florida.

We believe that true democratic principles require that the people be consulted in all matters where practicable, and that they as directly as possible be permitted to make known their wishes. We, therefore, favor the nomination of all candidates for office, both in state and county, and of United States Senators by a majority vote in white Democratic primary elections.

This state has taken an advanced position in respect to the Fifteenth Amendment. The general sentiment of the South concedes its validity and demands its repeal, but through the influence of State Senator Beard, the Legislature of Florida at its last session selected a different mode of attack when it adopted a proposed amendment to the state Constitution, to limit the franchise to "white males 21 years of age and upwards."

The expectation of the adoption of this amendment, so plainly in contravention of the United States Constitution, is based upon the contention of Senator Beard that the Fifteenth Amendment was never legally adopted. It is hoped to carry the question to the Supreme Court of the United States, and there to obtain a decision which would enable the South to lay aside all pretence and subterfuge and to disfranchise the negro by the adoption of a simple race disqualification.

The revised Constitution of Alabama went into effect November 28, 1901. The Constitution contains two distinct plans, one temporary and the other permanent. **Alabama.** The temporary plan remained in force only until January 1, 1903: but under it all persons registered obtained certificates which entitled them to vote for life, provided they complied with the other requirements of the Constitution. Under this temporary plan, persons possessing the prescribed qualifications as to age and residence, and not convicted of crime, were entitled to register (1) if they had honorably served in the War of 1812 or in the Mexican, Indian, Civil or Spanish War; or (2) if they were lawful descendants of persons who honorably served in the Revolutionary War, in the War of 1812, or in the Mexican, Indian or Civil War; or (3) if they were persons of good character and understood the duties and obligations of citizenship. The permanent plan, in substance, admits to registration those persons only who possess educational or property qualifications, viz.: (1) those who, unless physically disabled, can read and write and have been regularly engaged in some lawful employment for the greater part of the preceding twelve months; and (2) those who own at least forty acres of land on which they reside, or own real or personal property assessed for taxation at a valuation of at least \$300, on which the taxes for the previous year have been paid.¹

It will be readily perceived how carefully devised are the provisions designed to enable white men to exercise the suffrage, while excluding at the will of the registration officials any politically ambitious negro.

In the attempt to circumvent the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, Mississippi has always enjoyed an easy pre-eminence. Under the leadership of the late **Mississippi.** Senator George, the Constitutional Convention of 1890 provided certain restrictions of a character kindred

¹ From *Suffrage Limitations at the South*, by Francis G. Caffey

to those of the states before mentioned, which have stood the tests of the United States Courts. Under their operation, the negro is barred from voting in that state.

In his recent article on the subject in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, Congressman John Sharp Williams says:

I, like any other man with a drop of Southern blood tingling in his veins, would rather be able to accomplish directly by national action that which we have been forced to do indirectly by state action, with approximately the same result, to wit: the disfranchisement of the negro.

Well, the negro is indeed thoroughly disfranchised in that state. In the recent struggle for the Senatorship between Mr. Williams and Governor Vardaman, the final issue presented to the voters was upon the expediency of advocating in Congress the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. Both candidates agreed that the repeal was desirable, the only question being as to the advisability of pressing immediate action. Governor Vardaman promised, if elected, to urge immediate repeal; Congressman Williams pleaded for delay lest agitation should arouse the sleeping North to an appreciation of the situation. On the issue Williams won by a close vote, in a primary election in which it is doubtful if one negro, known as such, participated.

The provisions of the other states of the South might be quoted and analyzed with the same results. But enough

Disfranchisement Complete. has been presented to substantiate the proposition that throughout the Southern States a uniform practice prevails, generally supported by law, of excluding from the polls all persons of African blood.

It is not intended by this statement to assert that at times and under favorable circumstances a few negroes are not allowed to vote. It is claimed that 10,000 voted in North Carolina in the last Presidential election. Those who are

so permitted, however, to exercise the franchise, do so, not as a matter of right or custom, but simply as the recipients of a favor conferred by those who have the power to grant or to withhold the privilege.

But when we read from time to time, in the discussions of this phase of the question, the hopeful prognostication of some few Southern statesmen that at some future, but exceedingly indefinite, time a carefully selected class of negroes may be found worthy by reason of education and good character to enjoy the privilege of the ballot, and that in such event it will be accorded to them, we are forcibly reminded of the difficulties experienced by the augurs of early Roman history in refraining from exhibitions of unseemly levity while gravely announcing to the credulous populace the results of their divinations.

The unchangeable fact is that by (1) illegal and irregular practices, (2) constitutional enactments and laws passed thereunder, and (3) repeated and unmistakable public statements, the white men of the South have announced to the world their fixed and unalterable resolution to deny to the black man all participation in political affairs, and to reserve for themselves and their descendants the complete control of their institutions.

CHAPTER V

THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO

The Northern people, with their curious willingness to accept unwelcome results when they have given legal sanction to the cause whence these results flow, acquiesce in this subjection of the negro. They know that he does not suffer in person or estate, and if he is tricked out of his political privileges, well, it is only because he is not strong enough to protect himself. When he becomes strong enough, all will come right. To attempt to give him protection by Federal interference would involve evils far greater than the present.—*BRYCE'S American Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 309.

WE have seen in the preceding chapter the result of forty years of continuous and effective opposition on the part of the South to the principle of bestowing the franchise upon the negro incorporated in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. This result is no less than the complete disfranchisement of the race in the Southern States. For good or evil, this has come to be an accepted fact. In order that this result may have ocular demonstration, the table on pages 260 and 261 is submitted.

This table is based, by permission, on one of similar character contained in a powerful and illuminating speech on the subject of equality of representation, delivered by the Hon. J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, March 15, 1906. Congressman Keifer, by his masterly analysis of the figures contained in his table, conclusively demonstrates the evil results flowing from the

The Negro Problem

Table showing white and negro population and voters in each state, according to the census of 1900; present number of Representatives; also number each state would have if apportioned on white voters alone; also total number of votes cast in each state in 1904 and 1906, and average vote cast for Representative in 1904 and 1906 in each state.

State.	Population.		Voters.		Representatives.		Votes cast.		Average vote for each Representative.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	Present apportionment.	Apportionment on white votes.	1904.	1906.	1904.	1906.
	Alabama.....	1,001,152	827,307	232,294	181,471	9	5	108,845	65,890	12,093
Arkansas.....	944,580	366,856	226,597	87,157	7	5	116,421	51,059	16,631	7,294
California.....	1,402,727	11,045	489,545	3,711	8	10	331,433	291,961	41,429	36,495
Colorado.....	529,040	8,500	181,010	3,215	3	4	243,683	178,533	81,227	59,511
Connecticut.....	892,424	15,226	275,126	4,576	5	6	191,110	160,771	38,228	32,154
Delaware.....	153,977	30,697	45,592	8,374	1	1	43,856	38,344	43,850	38,344
Florida.....	297,333	230,730	77,962	61,417	3	2	39,307	22,949	13,102	7,649
Georgia.....	1,181,294	1,034,813	277,496	223,073	11	6	129,867	33,341	11,806	3,031
Idaho.....	154,495	293	50,328	130	1	1	72,583	71,915	72,583	71,915
Illinois.....	4,734,873	85,078	1,370,299	29,702	25	28	1,076,497	855,467	43,059	33,418
Indiana.....	2,458,502	57,505	701,761	18,186	13	15	682,185	542,389	52,475	41,722
Iowa.....	2,218,667	12,693	630,605	4,441	11	13	485,703	430,332	44,154	39,122
Kansas.....	1,416,319	52,003	398,552	14,695	8	8	324,588	305,423	40,573	38,178
Kentucky.....	1,862,369	284,700	469,266	74,728	11	9	435,705	288,587	39,615	26,235
Louisiana.....	729,612	650,804	177,828	147,348	7	3	53,908	37,296	7,701	5,328
Maine.....	692,226	1,319	216,850	445	4	4	90,640	132,596	24,010	34,149
Maryland.....	952,424	235,064	260,979	60,406	6	5	224,224	199,795	37,370	33,299
Massachusetts.....	2,769,764	31,974	830,049	10,456	14	17	445,098	403,026	31,792	28,786
Michigan.....	2,398,563	15,816	712,245	5,193	12	15	520,451	327,606	43,370	27,300
Minnesota.....	1,737,050	4,959	502,384	2,168	10	8	292,860	232,973	32,540	25,886
Mississippi.....	641,200	907,630	150,530	197,936	8	3	58,383	20,265	7,297	2,533
Missouri.....	2,194,843	161,234	809,797	46,418	10	17	643,861	583,035	40,241	36,439
Montana.....	226,283	1,523	94,873	711	1	2	64,444	56,161	64,444	56,161
Nebraska.....	1,056,526	6,269	297,817	2,298	6	6	224,687	187,374	37,447	31,229

Table showing white and negro population and voters in each state, etc.—Continued.

State.	Population.		Voters.		Representatives.		Votes cast.		Average vote for each Representative.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	Present apportionment.	Appor- tionment on white votes.	1904.	1906.	1904.	1906.
	Nevada.....	35,405	134	14,652	70	1	1	12,118	13,270	12,118
New Hampshire.....	410,791	662	130,648	230	2	3	90,089	79,023	45,044	39,511
New Jersey.....	1,812,317	69,844	532,750	21,474	10	11	432,547	358,231	43,254	35,825
New York.....	7,156,881	99,232	2,145,057	31,425	37	44	1,617,770	1,487,992	43,723	40,216
North Carolina.....	1,263,693	624,469	289,263	127,114	10	6	206,134	202,523	20,613	20,252
North Dakota.....	311,712	268	93,237	115	2	2	80,190	61,468	40,095	30,732
Ohio.....	4,060,204	96,901	1,180,599	31,235	21	24	1,004,393	779,018	47,828	37,124
Oregon.....	394,582	1,105	131,261	500	2	3	90,171	93,301	45,085	46,080
Pennsylvania.....	6,141,664	156,845	1,763,482	51,668	32	36	1,234,738	951,021	38,585	29,719
Rhode Island.....	419,050	9,092	124,001	2,765	2	3	68,656	65,400	34,328	32,700
South Carolina.....	557,807	782,321	130,375	152,860	7	3	56,912	29,529	8,130	4,218
South Dakota.....	380,714	405	107,353	184	2	2	101,440	73,993	50,720	30,951
Tennessee.....	1,540,186	480,243	375,040	112,236	10	8	242,750	199,927	24,275	19,992
Texas.....	2,426,609	620,722	599,901	136,875	16	12	234,008	166,200	14,625	10,381
Utah.....	272,465	672	65,205	358	1	1	101,624	84,892	101,624	84,892
Vermont.....	342,771	826	108,027	289	2	2	51,872	59,519	25,936	29,759
Virginia.....	1,192,855	660,722	301,379	146,122	10	8	129,103	86,013	12,910	8,601
Washington.....	496,304	2,514	183,999	1,230	3	5	145,151	114,747	48,383	38,249
West Virginia.....	915,233	43,499	233,129	14,786	5	4	239,923	182,731	47,984	36,546
Wisconsin.....	2,057,911	2,542	507,213	1,006	11	12	442,649	316,186	40,240	28,199
Wyoming.....	89,051	940	36,262	481	1	1	30,655	27,298	30,655	27,298
Total.....	65,674,350	8,708,350	18,593,256	2,021,398	386	386	13,519,604	10,923,817	35,024	28,300

present violation by the South of the fundamental principle of representation. His eloquent plea for the disfranchised negro, however, fell upon unheeding ears, the common sense of Congress recognizing the absolute futility of any attempt arbitrarily to reduce the representation of the Southern States, as proposed by his measure, in proportion to their disfranchisement of voters, white and black.

The facts disclosed by the foregoing table reveal the startling extent to which the vote of the South, white and black, is suppressed. In the preceding chapter we examined the methods,—the present one discloses the results. It is but slight exaggeration to say that democracy in its true spirit has ceased to exist from Maryland to Mexico.

Take the following example drawn from the table: In the ten states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, in which are centred nine-tenths of the negro population of the country, after making allowance for natural increase of population since 1900, there were in 1906 approximately 4,250,000 voters, white and black. In the Congressional election of that year the votes cast were as follows:

STATE.	No. of Congressmen.	Votes.	Average per District.
Alabama.....	9	65,890	7,321
Arkansas.....	7	51,059	7,294
Florida.....	3	22,949	7,649
Georgia.....	11	33,341	3,031
Louisiana.....	7	37,296	5,328
Mississippi.....	8	20,265	2,533
North Carolina.....	10	202,523	20,252
South Carolina.....	7	29,529	4,218
Texas.....	16	166,260	10,381
Virginia.....	10	86,013	8,601
Total.....	88	715,125	8,126

The remainder of the country, with 10,923,817 votes cast, shows an average per district of 34,267.

It will be noted by reference to the table at page 55 that the small average vote follows almost exactly the large proportion of negroes in the population.

Now, the overwhelming preponderance of one party in any locality is likely to deter many voters in each party from undergoing the trouble and expense of presenting themselves at the polls in an ordinary election; but when there exists an intelligent electorate, coupled with the unimpeded right to the exercise of the franchise, a fair proportion of the qualified voters will habitually avail themselves of the voting privilege. Witness those 20,000 Democrats who for nearly two political generations have, through good and evil report, annually attended at the polls to register an ineffectual protest against the doctrines of Republicanism entertained by the great majority of the voters of Vermont.

But where, as appears by the foregoing table, throughout an extensive section of the country, only one-sixth of those naturally entitled to avail themselves of the suffrage cast their votes, there must exist conditions demanding instant and remedial investigation.

Lest the foregoing deductions from the table should be deemed an overstatement of the gravity of the case, on the ground that in the years included in the table the elections were national in character and the results being a foregone conclusion in the states of the South, there was no inducement to the voters of that section to attend at the polls, whereas in a state election the interests involved more nearly concern the average citizen and a larger participation of the voters would result, the following comparison between two typical states is presented.

The states of Georgia and Iowa are almost equal in population. By the Census of 1900 the figures were as follows:

Iowa.....	2,231,360	Georgia.....	2,216,107
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The negroes form 46.7 per cent. of Georgia's population and less than one per cent. of that of Iowa.

The total vote case in those states at the last four elections for Governor was as follows:

IOWA.		GEORGIA.	
1901.....	370,563	1902.....	87,104
1903.....	398,506	1904.....	66,880
1906.....	413,111	1906.....	77,300
1908.....	454,188	1908.....	124,037
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Average.....	409,092	Average.....	83,838

Assuming that the usual proportion of about one male person of voting age to every five persons prevailed in each state, and taking into account the natural increase of population, it would seem to follow that in Georgia only one person out of six who might qualify habitually participated in the election for Governor, while in Iowa upward of four out of five exercised the suffrage.

This contrast between oligarchy and democracy should be startling to those who are unfamiliar with the extent to which republican government has disappeared in the South.

The Constitution (Article IV., Section 4) provides: The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government.

From the foregoing examination of the laws controlling the exercise of the privilege of voting in certain Southern States, and from our analysis of the figures contained in the foregoing table, which show the results worked out by the operation of those laws, it is at least a fairly debatable question whether the forms and methods of government prevailing in that section are in spirit and in truth republican.

These non-partisan statistics reveal the fact that in the state of Mississippi the number of qualified voters, as shown

Has the
South a
Republican
Form of
Govern-
ment?

by the Census of 1900, was 348,466. By the year 1906 the numbers had probably mounted to 360,000, of which approximately 160,000 were white men and 200,000 of the negro race. Now the total vote for President in 1904 was 58,383,—less than one-sixth of the electorate voting for the Chief Magistrate of the Union.

Further, in the Congressional election of 1906, only 20,265 votes were recorded as being cast for the eight Representatives in the Lower House of Congress; somewhat less than six per cent. of the voters in the state attending at the polls. To put it in another way:—Out of every eighteen male persons of the voting age, seventeen either did not take interest enough in the welfare of the country to vote at an important election, or were prevented by law or intimidation from participation in matters of the weightiest consequence to the whole Union.

Turning to the state of Georgia, in like manner, we find that but 33,341 voters out of upward of 500,000 male persons of voting age were recorded as having participated in the Congressional election of 1906. In this state only one voter in every fifteen deemed it worth while to vote, and throughout the state the vote averaged but slightly over 3000 per Congressional district,—about the vote of an ordinary borough in a New England state.

These examples might easily be extended in wearisome repetition, exhibiting in differing degrees the indifference of the mass of voters in the South, or else the practical suppression of the voting element, black and white alike, in the states to which reference is made.

Very few men in the states affected engage in political activities, and these few naturally form a privileged ruling class, determining among themselves by the primary or by other methods what measures of state policy shall be adopted and what persons shall enjoy the honors and emoluments of

official station. Such a condition of political affairs is the antithesis of democracy. It is oligarchy, pure and simple; the rule of the privileged few over the submissive many; the negation of a republican form of government; the complete break-down of all constitutional guarantees established for the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In the early years of the last century a powerful political party sought to effect a radical parliamentary reform in England by the abolition of what were known as the "Rotten Boroughs." A few persons of privilege held the absolute power of naming members of the House of Commons from unimportant localities and constituencies representing an insignificant number of electors. Such members when elected were, of course, subservient to the control of those who had the power of naming them. The representatives of these "Rotten Boroughs" had behind them no free, intelligent electorate, and the English sense of fair play was invoked to abolish this unfair system. The struggle was intense, but the people responded, and the great Parliamentary reform of 1832 was effected. Since that reform, and with all its shortcomings, there exists in the English Parliament no such "Rotten Borough" system as Mississippi presents to the world in the present Congress of our nation.

The Mississippi district represented by the gentleman who occupies the position of party leader of one of the great political parties in the House of Representatives, embraces the counties of Hinds, Madison, Rankin, Warren, and Yazoo; a compact territory in the "Black Belt" bordering the Mississippi River. By the Census of 1900 its population was 190,885,—74.5 per cent. being of the negro race. At the Congressional election of 1906 the district polled 2091 votes, all, of course, in favor of the election of this eminent statesman.

In his speeches during the senatorial campaign in the summer of 1907, Congressman Williams repeatedly took

occasion to refer in terms of satisfaction to the complete disfranchisement of the negro in the state, and is reported as having blasphemously declared that he "never could understand why God Almighty made niggers and rattlesnakes."

But what of the 142,174 black men, women, and children, who form the body of the workers, producers, and taxpayers of his district? Who is their representative, and to whom may they look for the protection of their individual and property rights? In what substantial respect does his district differ from the obsolete and long abolished "Rotten Borough" of England of the last century?

Contrast this district for a moment with a fairly representative New England district, selecting for the purpose the fourth Connecticut, comprising the counties of Litchfield and Fairfield. Population—247,875; 243,681 white, 4194 negro. Here we have a district of prosperous farms, growing cities, and thriving manufacturing villages, where almost every variety of industry flourishes. A district of churches, schoolhouses, libraries, and independent, self-respecting citizens. In this better political atmosphere, 46,455 votes were cast for the candidates at the election of the present Representative as against the 2091 for the Hon. John Sharp Williams. Note the contrast between oligarchy and representative government, between conditions where the negroes are numerous and where they are not sufficient in numbers to constitute a political factor.

Subjected to the simple tests applicable to a republican form of government, viz.: (1) An intelligent electorate; (2) substantial participation by the body of the people at elections; and (3) election laws fair in purpose and honestly administered—many of the states of the South fail to comply with the fundamental requirements of the structure of government contemplated by the makers of the Constitution

of the United States as essential for its members. Their governments are oligarchical, not democratic.

It has been, of course, impossible to bring about this frustration of the principles of democratic government without compelling the statesmen of the South to feel the necessity of explaining, apologizing for, or vindicating both the methods adopted and the results accomplished. Accordingly, we find carefully prepared statements presented in justification of the methods adopted and in full commendation of the results flowing from the disfranchisement of the negro.

It is urged, and with incontrovertible force, that in order to preserve the civilization of the section, to the end that the white man might continue to exist and to enjoy the benefit of the institutions which his forefathers established, necessity compelled him to adopt measures for the complete elimination of the negro as a political influence. No candid person can gainsay this argument. What has been done in the South between 1870 and the present time must be regarded by all well-informed persons as a matter of absolute necessity, and would have been done in any community of white men wherever there was the menace of the domination of a race at once ignorant, inferior, and hostile. This fact, once not clearly perceived, has now become so apparent that there is really no argument advanced in opposition to this theory, and it is quietly recognized that should the same menace prevail in a Northern community the same methods of self-protection would be resorted to by the men of Caucasian blood.

And yet, in order to justify this absolute denial of the suffrage to the black race, to extenuate this seeming compliance with constitutional provisions, accompanied by a mock respect for public opinion, some specious argument was necessary to be evolved for its support. Such an argu-

ment is predicated upon the statement that each and all of the methods adopted in the Southern States, viz., educational qualifications, the payment of poll tax, or the possession of a certain amount of property, or indeed the exemption from such requirements of all voters who either themselves or whose ancestors were entitled to the privilege at some definitely fixed period, have their analogues in the constitutions or statutes of Northern States.

As a precedent for the "grandfather clause" they point to the provision contained in the twentieth amendment to the Massachusetts Constitution by which an educational qualification for suffrage was introduced in 1857, and by which it was declared that, "The provisions of this amendment shall not apply to any person who now has the right to vote," and explain that no provision for the reform of their election laws seeking to eliminate ignorance and lack of character could be adopted, except by the assent of those already possessed of the suffrage. Nothing could be more disingenuous than to seize upon an isolated provision in the laws of a Northern State, the effect of which may be in good faith to deprive a few unfit persons of the exercise of the suffrage, to justify a wholesale disfranchisement effected by unfair and illegal methods.

They further call attention to the fact that in many of the Northern States constitutional provisions exist imposing voting qualifications of a property or educational character, and from this premise argue that their methods have abundant precedent. Were the laws of the Southern States excluding from the suffrage all elements of poverty and ignorance impartially administered, we might reluctantly accept them as expedient while deploring the condition of society which necessitated their adoption. But judged by results their purpose is too apparent.

However plausible the justification may appear, we must

recur again to the Spanish proverb that any excuse is sufficient if you desire to beat your dog, and point out, as we have before, the real and generally avowed purpose of these constitutional and other provisions to be the disfranchisement of the negro race.

The late Senator Gorman of Maryland, as familiar as any statesman of the period with the methods employed and the results effected by the disfranchising provisions adopted, in his speech at Ellicott City, Maryland, October 26, 1905, thus succinctly states to his auditors the real manner in which disfranchisement was brought about:

You know, as well as I do, the methods that we employ. In this country, as in every other, you know what violence follows when it is attempted by law to bring about political or social equality between the black and the white races. The white man will resent it. In a manly, thoroughly American fashion, the white men of the South secured control of their entire section. They were not particular about the methods, and if they met at night with red shirts they meant business. They took possession. It was necessary to do so. But their methods were distasteful to thoughtful men, and were objectionable to every man who loved his country. They intend to find a substitute for such methods and resort to the law by changing their state constitutions.

We have noted what provisions were introduced into these state constitutions following the lead of Mississippi, and have followed the results of the process to their legitimate conclusion in the absolute disfranchisement of the negro race. But in order to justify a continuation of this disfranchisement with the observance of a semblance of legality, and to explain the paucity of the Southern vote, another explanation was deemed requisite.

This may be found characteristically stated in a pamphlet

called "Suffrage Limitations at the South," by Francis G. Caffey, published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xx., No. 1, March, 1905. Mr. Caffey presents this:

The true explanation of the small and decreasing average vote in Southern elections is that political exigencies have driven the people in the South more and more into the habit of settling finally in Democratic primaries and conventions, particularly in primaries, whatever political differences exist among them. The result is that it is now no unusual thing for the number of votes cast in a general election to fall to a very small proportion, sometimes as low as from ten to twenty-five per cent., of the vote cast in the nominating primary for the same candidates. The questions at issue having been settled in the primary, the election itself is a mere legal formality, to which no more attention is given than is necessary to record the result of the primary. Thus it has come about that people in the South have accustomed themselves to take part in the choice of their officials almost entirely by the indirect method of sharing in the selections of the candidates of one party.

The foregoing statement explains the prevailing condition of political atrophy, so far as explanation is possible, but obviously involves the failure of our American system of the ballot and the substitution of the agreement of a governing class both as to measures of policy and the personnel of government. Having deprived the mass of the people of the right of suffrage, it is sought by an extra-constitutional organization confined to the select few to rule the affairs of the commonwealth. As an explanation it may be a success; as a justification it is a failure.

In the summer of 1907, a spirited contest at the primaries was held in the state of Mississippi between Governor Vardaman and Congressman Williams, the prize being the Senator-

ship of the state. Even in this closely contested election only about 117,000 voters participated, less than one-third of the normal voting strength of the state.

And yet even this condition of affairs is not regarded as entirely satisfactory. There appears to be at the South an uneasy consciousness that even with all this accomplished subversion of the fundamental principles of democratic policy there is yet danger. Despite the imposition of educational qualifications, onerous poll taxes, "understanding" clauses, and "grandfather" and "old soldier" provisions, the apprehension continues that the negro may yet succeed in securing political control by dint of his growing intelligence and preponderance of numbers.

And so we find in the recent debates in the United States Senate, the senior Senator from the state of Texas in his speech of January 4, 1907, making this announcement as to the attitude of the people of his state toward this important question:

Speaking, Mr. President, in part for the people of Texas—and plainness of speech is best—it is not inappropriate to say that they have dealt fairly and generously with the negro in all essentials, in education, in charities, in helpful sympathies and in the protection of life, liberty and property. But I would not be candid with you if I did not say that in other respects their purposes are equally resolute and unalterable. They are opposed to political domination by the ignorant and the vicious; they are opposed to social equality with the negro, and they are opposed to every tendency which will ultimately be destructive of the purity and integrity of the white race.

It may appear to be superfluous to elaborate the discussion of this subject, but the writer cannot refrain from quoting one more extract which is taken from a speech of the

senior Senator of South Carolina, delivered in the Senate on January 12, 1907, where, looking to the future, he says:

Under the law—the Fourteenth or Fifteenth amendments—these people possess every right that white men have, as far as the Federal Constitution confers rights, and the Fifteenth Amendment expressly forbids the enactment of any law which shall discriminate in voting on account of race or color. Large numbers of these negroes are disfranchised at this time, but these laws are only temporary and work no cure; they are only palliatives and offer us only a breathing spell, and in the near future enough negroes will be able to vote, under laws which we ourselves have passed, and we have exhausted all expedients, to outvote us. Can anybody undertake to say that there will not then come a struggle for mastery between the two races?

As before mentioned, some favored individuals of the race may be permitted, as a matter of special privilege, to exercise political functions, but never where such action would imperil the dominance of the Caucasian race. The ballot was placed in the hand of the black man for his protection and as a security for his rights; unable to protect himself, it fell from his nerveless hand, and the right thus lost he can never recover by his own exertion. This is the resolute determination of the white men of the South, from which they will never swerve or waver, and this assured fact must be accepted as one of the fixed elements entering into the solution of the negro problem.

The poet declares, "They have rights who dare maintain them," and the ignorant, dependent, and easily intimidated Southern negro has no rights which he is capable of successfully asserting in response to this test.

It is not to be supposed that the disfranchisement of the

The Negro
will Never
Regain the
Right of
Suffrage in
the South-
ern States.

Southern negro could have been brought about without the protest of the North, and without earnest efforts in the early stages of the movement to prevent its accomplishment. But from the very beginning, **The Attitude of the North.** opposition to the course pursued by the Southern commonwealths was hopeless. The only method by which the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth constitutional amendments could have been enforced was the actual presence of a strong military force throughout the entire Southern community. Nothing less would have been effectual.

Neither of these amendments is in any manner self-executing, and both are of a character which, as we have seen, renders them easy of evasion. The Fourteenth Amendment, indeed, so far as it relates to the reduction of the representation of a state in the Electoral College or in the House of Representatives, by reason of the denial or abridgment of the right to vote to any class of its citizens, is a mere *brutum fulmen*. Any plausible requirement applicable alike to the total number of male persons over twenty-one in the state, and which in its nature is not impossible for any individual to meet, will constitute a valid restriction upon the suffrage privilege.

For instance, it cannot be said that if the right to vote should be restricted to those who are able to read and write, the suffrage as to others is denied or abridged, because certainly there is no insuperable obstacle to the acquiring by any person of these simple accomplishments; and in like manner, the payment of a poll tax, or a reasonable provision as to registration, have always and in all places been regarded as proper regulations of the suffrage, and not as in any sense a denial of the privilege.

Besides this, what remedy can be suggested short of the application of physical force for the righting of a wrong of this character? And as the Hon. James Bryce has said

in the extract quoted at the head of this chapter, it has been recognized in the North that any attempt to right the wrong of the negro by Federal interference would involve evils far greater than those which are the subject of discussion in this chapter.

But the North has not been unmindful of the gross violation of the democratic principle involved in the suppression of the negro vote in the South. From time to time faint-hearted efforts have been made to stay the progress of this evil tendency. Presidents have given the subject great consideration in their messages; bills for the purpose of rigidly enforcing the law through the agency of United States marshals and, if necessary, the military arm of the nation have been introduced and discussed, but never successfully put in operation.

Schemes for the reduction of the representation of the South in the Electoral College and in the House of Representatives have been projected, and bills for that purpose introduced and debated in Congress, but all to no end. At the last Congress two such measures were introduced, discussed, and abandoned, and one at least is pending at the present time, but the absolute impracticability of taking action is so apparent that nothing in the way of remedy can result.

So it has come about that the attitude of the North is one of unwilling acceptance of the resulting ignominy. It is conceded that the violation exists, that the means employed for negro disfranchisement are abhorrent to the principles of our government, that the successful evasion of the purpose of the constitutional amendments is a reproach to the theory and practice of democracy, that the condition of affairs menaces our safety, impairs our self-respect, and degrades us in the eyes of the civilized nations of the world. And yet the leaders of political thought of the great, intelligent,

populous North, the section charged with the control of the destinies of our country, have no suggestion to offer for the reinstatement of the integral principle of democracy.

In a notable address delivered before the Union League Club of New York some three years ago, the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, and in such matters generally regarded as the spokesman of the National Administration, frankly admitted that the experiment of placing the suffrage in the hands of the emancipated negroes of the South had proved a failure. He recognized the fact that by amendments to their state constitutions, and other repressive laws, the Southern States had absolutely disfranchised the negro, and, continuing, gave expression to the view that the infliction of the penalty contained in the Fourteenth Amendment for such action was impossible under present circumstances.

Such being the case, and the political party responsible for the conferring of the suffrage upon the negroes tacitly consenting to their practical disfranchisement, and officially accepting as a fact the unworthiness of the race for the exercise of the suffrage, what excuse can there be for permitting the numerically unimportant negroes of the North to enjoy this privilege which their Southern brothers are refused? Does not the North logically accept the principle urged by the white men of the South that the negro is intrinsically unfit to exercise the suffrage, and with such acceptance is not the controversy over the failure of the experiment of bestowing the voting privilege upon the black man forever closed? The policy of the North appears to be silent submission to the evils of the situation. Even protest has ceased.

In a speech in the Senate, January 19, 1907, upon the ever-recurring question of the negro, Senator John C. Spooner, of Wisconsin, eminent lawyer and learned leader of Northern

thought, had this to say of the discussion aroused by the unfair representation of the South in the Electoral College and the House of Representatives, based upon the colored population which counts but does not vote:

Senators will bear me witness that it is a good many years since this subject has been discussed at all on this side of the Chamber. When I first came to the Senate it was often debated with a violence which is almost always inseparable from it. Silence upon it has not been a surrender, except in this way, that it has come to be felt by our people at large that the delicate and difficult problem down there can be best settled without agitation from without.

Of course, there cannot be a universal acceptance of this situation, and from time to time we find some hopeful soul looking forward to the day when by reason of **Futile Hopes for Improvement.** his intellectual and financial advancement the negro will gradually regain political power.

In an address recently delivered upon the relation of the South to pending problems, at Johns Hopkins University, the Hon. Hannis Taylor, formerly Minister to Spain, and a thoughtful student of negro conditions, indulges in the following hopeful discussion:

The basic principle upon which the new Southern constitutions rest is that as fast as our colored citizens become qualified by education or property, or both, for the franchise they shall be endowed with it. Without fraud or subterfuge that principle should be firmly applied in the actual administration of government. Intelligent and responsible minorities of colored voters thus introduced into Southern electorates can never menace, in my judgment, the political supremacy of a race endowed with a genius for domination.

In his work on *Political Problems of American Development*, Professor Albert Shaw, of Columbia University, New York, gives expression to similarly optimistic sentiments. He says (p. 125):

When, after another decade or two, the political life of the white voters of the South has reasserted itself in a wholesome way, the negroes who possess fitness will undoubtedly be admitted to the exercise of their legal political rights by the voluntary action of their white neighbors.

To one familiar with the prevalent feeling of the South upon the subject of negro voting, these predictions are ludicrous in their character.

The suggestion that when, under the conditions depicted in the foregoing pages of this work, the negro becomes qualified by education or by the possession of property, he may be entrusted with the suffrage, provided that such privilege shall not menace the dominance of the white race, is unworthy of the consideration of an intelligent people. The Greek calends will be long past ere the negro vote will be counted in the South under any conditions.

Recognizing this fact, the Republican party yet regularly goes through the resounding farce of demanding the reduction of the representation of the Southern States under the Fourteenth Amendment. Here is a specimen of its quadrennial stultification copied from the platform adopted at Chicago,

June 22, 1904:

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any state has been unconstitutionally limited, and if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the Electoral College shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

The Protest
of the Re-
publican
Party.

With an overwhelming majority in each branch of the Congress, and a President elected upon this profession of political principle by an unprecedented popular majority, the party responsible for the present condition of the negro's relation to the franchise supinely neglected to attempt to square its performance with the promise, fully realizing that the evil is too strongly entrenched to be thus remedied.

The constitution of the Republican National Convention of 1908 affords a striking illustration of the discreditable condition of the present political situation. From ten states of the South, in which the party organization is the merest sham, and from which not one electoral vote for its candidates was under any circumstances to be expected, there appeared a swarm of negro delegates. They were allowed to participate in the work of the body, and under different circumstances might have wielded an important, perhaps decisive, influence in the selection of a Presidential candidate for whom they, with the other members of their race, would be debarred from voting in their respective states.

Every four years we see this travesty on methods of representative selection enacted. Every four years we are called upon to witness the degrading submission of this great political organization to the indignity of allowing its councils to be swayed by the presence of a body of reputedly venal negroes, generally persons of low personal character, and at best representing no element of effective American citizenship.

The wonder is that some self-respecting delegate, bearing the commission of a Northern district where free speech is not yet a tradition, and where the suffrage rests on manhood foundation, has not risen in his place in affront, and exclaimed:

Hold! I refuse to accord equality upon the floor of this convention to men who do not possess the intelligence and

courage to demand and maintain in their own districts equality for themselves and for those whom they profess to represent.

The conceded fact that the negro will never regain the privilege of the ballot is a most momentous factor in the problem. He keenly appreciates his deprivation. **The Value of the Ballot to the Negro.** The value of the ballot to him is inestimable. Its purpose and utility mean far more to its possessor than the mere honor of casting it on election day. Not alone does it confer the power to promote such political theories as may appear to the citizen to be the best calculated to subserve the permanent interests of the community, or to secure the success at the polls of the party whose measures he deems will most inure to the welfare of the nation; it has the added advantage that through its use the voter may justifiably exercise his power, if he be so minded, for less altruistic purposes, and employ it for the advancement of his personal interests as distinguished from those of the country at large.

While as a matter of theory, no purpose less unselfish than the promotion of the general welfare of the community should actuate the voter in depositing his ballot, as a matter of everyday practice, so long as men differ in their judgment of candidates and measures, the voting privilege will be utilized for the purpose of the fair and honest advancement of the material interests of its possessor. If, under our system of government, the voter believes that the adoption of certain measures of governmental policy would be inimical to his interests, or that the election of a certain candidate would injuriously affect his business prospects, the ballot affords him a legitimate means of protection. He is then in position to combine with his fellow-citizens in mutual

efforts to promote their interests, and is entitled to consideration as the equal of any other man before the law. With the ballot he is a sovereign; without it he is a slave.

So long, therefore, as participation in political affairs is denied to the disfranchised negro in the South, no possible extension of education or accumulation of wealth can have any other effect than to increase his discontent and to render the problem more hopeless of solution. The higher his intellectual gifts the more keenly he feels his deprivation and the less inclined he finds himself to accept his local position of subordination or to cherish respect for the National Government, which, having solemnly given him its assurance of equal rights and privileges, confesses its inability to translate its promise into protection, and pusillanimously abandons him to his fate.

Nor is this the end. Deeper yet lies the pregnant question as to what must be the effect upon our national life, in all its varying aspects, of this violent suppression of the constitutional right of two million voters. The word "violent" is used advisedly, for in the last analysis this suppression of the negro vote does rest upon force and upon force alone.

It is a commonplace to say that any violation of the moral law will inevitably work out a quality of retribution. No man or woman can entertain respect for the government, or for those chosen to administer its affairs, if it be understood that the exercise of the franchise is attended with fraud or injustice. As well may a man habitually disregard the laws of physiology and hygiene governing his physical constitution, or the merchant violate the well established rules controlling business affairs, and yet expect in the one case to retain health or in the other to enjoy prosperity, as may a nation undertake to violate the primary laws of

**The Effect
of Disfranchisement
on the
Nation.**

rectitude in moral and political affairs and hope by some fortuitous circumstance to escape the logical result of its conduct.

“God is not to be mocked.” While “grandfather clauses” and other ingeniously devised subterfuges may for the day successfully deprive the negro of his franchise in the South, and a timorous desire for peace compel unworthy submission to this injustice in the North, the spirit of fair play inherent in the American people will not permit such artifices permanently to dishonor their political institutions.

Consider for a moment what must be the effect upon the youth of the South, of this established system of political hypocrisy. Under the prevailing political practices existing of necessity in that section, government is based upon force and fraud, manhood suffrage is but a mockery, and political equality a fiction. The fast diminishing vote indicates a dangerous condition of political lethargy.

Ours is a government of discussion, of results produced by conference among equals, and where the necessary elements for such discussion—intelligence and equality—are lacking, the results cannot be other than disappointing. If one section of our country habitually practises methods in direct and acknowledged violation of our democratic theory, and another cravenly submits to such violations for political advantage or in the fear of jeopardizing the country's peace, demoralization of the conscience of the young voter inevitably follows.

The ultimate fact is that the Civil War sprang from the repudiation by the South of the fundamental principle of democracy, viz., the will of the majority of qualified voters, legally ascertained and declared. The negro was the cause, the proposed restriction of slavery but provided the excuse. It was this violation of the basic theory of our political

existence which aroused the national spirit of self-preservation, and slowly brought the North to the stern resolve that at all hazards and sacrifices the integrity of the democratic principle must be maintained. Anarchy was the alternative presented.

In its necessitated denial of the suffrage to the black man, the South continues this repudiation. The resulting danger awaits the coming of some unfortunate situation to find the nation again confronted with the choice between timorous submission to an acknowledged injustice to millions of its negro citizens, or the resort to another fratricidal conflict.

The patient sentiment of the North tolerates, while recognizing, this indefensible condition, yet there exists a constant, smouldering sense of injustice at the unfairness of allowing the South the increased representation in the Electoral College and the House of Representatives, based upon these nine millions of voiceless citizens. In the futile expectation that in some unlooked-for manner the injustice may peacefully pass away, the matter has not been pressed to a conclusion, but the dormant irritation affecting clear-thinking men in all parts of the land will not be allayed until this question of representation is finally settled upon lines of righteousness.

The purpose of this perhaps too prolonged discussion of the political phase of the negro problem has been to establish the proposition that the presence of the negro race has, of necessity, introduced into our political system a dangerous departure from sound principles of government. The evil results of this infraction of the fundamental laws of our political being may be deferred for decades, or perhaps for centuries, but sooner or later this deviation from the path of righteousness is certain to involve the nation in consequences of disastrous character.

The periods of a nation's development, its maturity and decline, are to be measured not by years but by generations. With our limited intellectual vision we can but dimly perceive the relative value of the forces engaged in shaping the momentous events in our future history of which the womb of time is yet to be delivered. We can but feebly estimate the results which are destined inexorably to follow this established violation of the primary law of our political organization. But this we surely know, that, in the end, error, cowardice, and injustice will be followed by expiation.

Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;

Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEGRO'S SOLUTION

I believe that a straightforward, honorable treatment of black men according to their desert and achievement will soon settle the negro problem. If the South is right in its contention—that negroes cannot by reason of hereditary inferiority take their places in modern civilization beside white men—few will rise to a plane that will make their social reception a matter worth consideration; few will gain the sobriety and industry which will deserve the ballot; and few will achieve such solid moral character as will give them welcome to the fellowship of the church. If, on the other hand, negroes with the door of opportunity thrown wide do become men of industry and achievement, of moral strength and even genius, then such rise will silence the South with an eternal silence.—PROFESSOR WILLIAM E. BURGHARDT DuBois, Lecture at Philadelphia Divinity School, June, 1907.

THE census figures of 1900 indicate the prevalence of illiteracy among negroes to be as follows:

Total number of negroes of ten years of age and upward.....	6,415,581
Total number illiterate.....	2,853,194
Percentage of illiteracy.....	44.5

The census of 1890 showed the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes to be 57.1 per cent. When we consider that the term illiteracy as used in this connection denotes an absolute incapacity to read and write, the appalling condition of ignorance of the negro population is sufficiently established. Of the 55.5 per cent. shown by the census of 1900 not to be included as absolutely illiterate, probably 90 per

cent. or more would be classified as of exceedingly defective education if subjected to the test of even a moderate standard of literary acquirement.

It follows from the foregoing statistics, and from our general knowledge of the race, that the negroes taken *en masse* can have no intelligent conception of the problem under discussion, and consequently have no suggestion for its solution. Not only is this the fact by reason of the inadequacy of their mental equipment and experience to grasp the problem in all its bearings, but it is altogether the more so for the reason that they have been for centuries accustomed to rely for guidance entirely upon the people of the Caucasian race. This is true as well of the North as of the South, for until the last two decades, with few but conspicuous exceptions, the negro has been content to follow white leadership in every question connected with his status as a citizen of the country.

During the period of slavery it is obvious that no question of the kind ever arose among the enslaved negroes, and so far as the freemen, both North and South, were concerned, the contempt in which they were held caused their opinions to be consistently disregarded. Emancipation and enfranchisement turned the mind of the negro toward the possibility of achieving position, social and political, in the South; but as years have elapsed his hopes in this respect have been disappointed, and the gravity of the race problem has begun to impress itself upon the thoughtful minds brought to the front by education and the natural evolution of the negro intellect.

In point of fact, so far as the mass of the negro population in its condition of ignorance and political suppression is concerned, the only problem calling urgently for solution is that of the acquisition of a bare livelihood, and only among the comparatively few engaged in professional or

Incapacity
of the Negro
to Propose
a Solution.

educational work in the South, and the still fewer who have acquired position of some prominence in the North, is there any serious comprehension of the character of the problem or any attempt systematically to work out its solution.

The difficulty of ascertaining the true negro sentiment on the subject is further increased by two quite opposite traits on the part of the negroes who are prominent in the discussion. The first is that, as with the Oriental, the negro mind has qualities not readily understood by the average Caucasian. There is much truth in the saying of the Southerner:

You Northern people know really nothing of the negro; you must have lived all your life with him to understand him.

There is something in the composition of the African intellect which makes it a sealed book to the ordinary understanding of the Caucasian.

The other trait springs from the well-known fact that nearly all the gifted leaders of the negro race, North and South,—the teachers, clergymen, doctors, politicians, and successful business men,—are of the mulatto type. The common practice of essayists upon the question of negro capacity, of pausing at this point to enter upon a disquisition relating to the future of the mulatto, will not be followed. It suffices for present purposes to emphasize the fact that but few negroes, from Frederick Douglass to President Booker T. Washington, who have a record of accomplishment, are in reality anything other than white men with an infusion of African blood. Douglass was such; Senator Bruce of Mississippi, the foremost negro statesman of the reconstruction period, was nearly pure white; President Washington claims a white father, is apparently of three-

fourths Caucasian blood, and has been not inaptly described as a "bronzed Irishman." Professor DuBois would pass anywhere for an Italian professor, or a Parisian *maître d'escrime*. Chestnut, Atkins, Anderson, Stewart, Fortune, and other prominent men of the race, present strongly marked characteristics of Caucasian extraction. No one could have seen the assemblage at the National Negro Business League meeting in New York, in August, 1905, without being moved to remark that the general shade of complexion of the membership would justify the Duke's remark to Brabantio, "far more fair than black."

This double difficulty of ascertaining the attitude of the normal African mind toward the question tends to render any conclusion as to the general negro view of the problem exceedingly subject to error. Let us, however, pursue the course followed in attempting to ascertain the character of other propositions for its solution, and also in this instance summon our black witnesses to the stand and from their own statements endeavor to reach a conclusion.

If the condition of the thinking negro mind could be made the subject of careful analysis, it would reveal the race in an attitude of bitter protest against present conditions and of growing despair as regards future amelioration. So fervent, however, is the faith of the race in the protection of the Almighty, so optimistic the general spirit of the negro, that without much substantial foundation for his belief he is yet looking forward hopefully to some satisfactory outcome of the situation. Apart from those unthinking representatives of the negro population who exhaust themselves in ineffectual protest against existing conditions without suggestion of remedy, we find two fairly well defined solutions outlined, having in effect the same purpose, and devoted to the same end, but seeking to accomplish it by distinctly different methods.

Let us first consider the solution suggested by the school of thought of which President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, is the leading exemplar. No one can refrain from admiring the beautiful spirit of optimism with which this distinguished educator approaches the question, and the vigor and versatility with which he advocates the movement which he believes will work out the salvation of his race. He bases his theory of the solution of the problem mainly upon the industrial advancement of his people.

**Solution by
Industrial
Develop-
ment.**

“Get land—get business—get money—get recognition,” is his constantly reiterated advice. “Establish your affairs on a sound financial basis and the white man will recognize your equality. Show to the world your capacity for industrial advancement and all other of the valuable things of the world will not long be wanting.”

From a recent magazine article the following extract, containing his opinion on this aspect of the question, is taken:

When a black man owns and cultivates the best farm to be found in his county he will have the confidence and respect of most of the white people of that county. When a black man is the largest taxpayer in his community his white neighbor will not object very long to his voting and having that vote honestly counted. Even now the black man who has \$500 to lend has no trouble to find a white man to borrow his money.

The learned educator is laboring under a delusion upon this subject. Let the farm of the black man in the South surpass in every respect that of his white neighbors, and he may enjoy their confidence and respect, *as a worthy negro*, but the social barrier is all the more firmly maintained. The tax-gatherer will welcome his payment, but his vote will not

be counted if it be a determining factor in the election, and no seat in the jury box will await his coming. Certainly the white man will borrow his money, but in borrowing it he feels that he is conferring upon the negro a flattering distinction. Was not the despised Jew for centuries the money-lender of Europe? Does not the noble Antonio say,—

If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not as to thy friends; for when did friendship take a breed of barren metal from his friend? But lend it rather to thine enemy, who, if he break, thou mayest with better face exact the penalty.—*Merchant of Venice*, Act I., Scene 3.

In his article of August 19, 1905, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Thomas Dixon, Jr., says, concerning the position of President Washington:

What is the attitude of Mr. Booker T. Washington on this vital issue? You will search his books and listen to his lectures in vain for any direct answer. Why? Because if he really dared to say what in his soul of souls he believes he would end his great career, both North and South. In no other way has he shown his talent as an organizer and leader of his people as in the constant skill and dexterity with which he has for twenty years dodged this issue, holding steadily the good-will of the Southern white man and the Northern philanthropists. He is the greatest diplomatist his race ever produced.

In this view Mr. Dixon is right. President Washington, and the school of negro thought which he represents, consciously or unconsciously are endeavoring to work out the solution of the problem through financial, industrial, and educational advancement of the negro, until eventually in the long processes of time he will either establish himself as an individual and independent race in the midst of our

Caucasian population, or, as a remote probability, bring about the final amalgamation of the races.

For to this ultimate solution the thought of the black man and woman ever turns. The deprivation of social equality, the denial of a spirit of sympathy, constitute the unpardonable offences of the Caucasian toward the negro. It is this which imparts a tinge of bitterness to his literature of protest against the curtailment of his political rights and the discrimination against him in industrial occupations. The latter two might be silently endured in the hope of his being able to surmount them in the near future; but the refusal of the white man to share with him the privileges of social life and the unbending resolution against racial intermixture are factors never to be overcome.

In reading the discussions of the members of the negro race on the problem, one notes the ever-present assumption that in the end education and wealth will bring about the desired equality. It would seem as though it were never forgotten that in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the principal negro characters, with the exception of the hero, mingle freely with white people, and, indeed, frequently pass for Caucasians, and that in the course of the novel several marriages between the members of the different races occur.

From a recent article in the *North American Review* (March 15, 1907) by Colonel Robert L. Bullard, on "The Cuban Negro," a passage in illustration of this sentiment of the race may be quoted:

The sentimental for the negro is everywhere above the substantial. The old sergeant whom I encountered in Cuba had piecemeal answered me that he was surer of all substantial rights, surer of justice, better protected by the laws, lived better and earned more in the United States, but he ended with saying: "Ten to one, sir, I'd rather live

in Cuba, because here there 's no difference between us and white folks." He spoke the desire of his whole race. This distinction is their heaviest burden. Said a young man who had followed the American forces to Cuba in the war with Spain: "I 'd rather live in Cuba, Colonel, 'cause de cullud peoples here lives married to white folks jes de same es anybody. En dey eats wid um en drinks wid um en talks to um jes de same as anybody. An den anodder thing, dey's policemans jes de same es white uns." The ablest of his blood in their longest dissertations have not yet stated as plainly and as fully the whole aspiration of the race as this simple fellow in three brief sentences.

At a very recent reception given by Governor Magoon at Havana, white and black are said to have mingled on a footing of apparent social equality. Perhaps if the Caucasian in the "ever faithful isle" had refused to permit the miscegenation which has given to Cuba a hybrid population, there would be no occasion for an American proconsul to be in the discharge of governmental authority at Havana, and the negro problem of the island would present a less sinister aspect.

The school of negro thought which seeks this deferred solution insists upon the negro acquiring land, a pregnant and significant fact when we consider that this must necessarily be the foundation of his prosperity and the stepping-stone to all of his higher development. The advocates of this theory claim nothing affirmatively, ask no immediate right of suffrage, demand no social recognition, but are content slowly to acquire the material prosperity which they believe will in time work out through labor and moral development the enfranchisement of the race.

In a recent address at the Tuskegee Conference, President Washington said:

Any black man who is worthy his salt can build a decent

home—can raise a respectable family—can secure all the work he wants—can educate his children—can have freedom of religious worship—can secure and maintain the respect and confidence of his neighbors of both races. But we must not be satisfied with what we have achieved in the past, we must continue to go forward. . . . As we grow materially let us work with all our might to turn material possessions into the highest moral and mental and religious usefulness.

How can any one fail to sympathize with the spirit which underlies this statement of the purpose of the race? The aim of his work in the field of education is to inspire his followers with a spirit of industry and self-respect and to establish a moral and religious standard which would do honor to the most cultivated of peoples.

And yet, if the premises from which we are reasoning are sound, it will be readily seen that this line of conduct affords no solution of the problem. The goal toward which the efforts of President Washington and his colleagues are directed is under present circumstances impossible of attainment, and the work which he is doing, the efforts which he and his supporters so unsparingly put forth, tend only to render the problem more acute and the final solution desired by them more difficult.

With others who follow his leadership in this regard, he is beginning to announce the doctrine of industrial, social, and political separation of the African race from the people in the midst of which it has its existence. He would erect an *imperium in imperio*, and without at present demanding the segregation of the races by geographical lines, would leave them each as a separate and isolated people within the same territorial area. The result of what may be termed the industrial solution of the problem would result in the

The Industrial Solution a Failure.

collapse of the democratic theory and practice in the Southern community, and would in itself be an impossibility in the North, where the paucity of numbers among negroes would prevent its successful application.

Another consideration, however, enters into the discussion of this aspect of the problem. If the progress of the negro in the South during his period of freedom has been great, the progress of his white neighbor has been immeasurably greater. If, as President Washington asserts, the negro has acquired since emancipation land equal in area to the combined territory of Holland and Belgium, the white man has yet fifty acres to the black man's one. If he has in the same time succeeded in establishing thirty-one small banks, the other race possesses upward of a thousand. Granting the negro his \$500,000,000 of property accumulated during the past forty-five years, the energetic Southern Caucasian has increased the value of his real and personal estate since the war from \$3,500,000,000 to \$18,500,000,000. In all respects the progress of the white during the period mentioned has far outstripped that of the black. It is well to extol the progress of the Southern negro and to urge him to the more vigorous cultivation of the virtues of industry, thrift, and self-control so essential to his permanent success. But to expect that, laboring as he does under the cumulative handicap of his present condition of ignorance, social ostracism, political disfranchisement, and industrial subordination, he will approach the material prosperity of the ruling race is flatteringly to ascribe to him a natural superiority over the white man of which his record gives no warrant.

The contrast is as old as *Æsop*,—the tale of the hare and the tortoise; only in this instance the hare is not likely to fall asleep.

But the negro race is far from being unanimous upon the policy of following President Washington in his proposition

of awaiting industrial development and slowly by toil and accumulation winning the favorable regard of the white man.

**The
Niagara
Movement.** There are those, and not an inconsiderable few, who are dissatisfied with his plan of dilatory advancement, and who seek by the bold assertion of the negro's constitutional rights at once to secure him in a position of social and political equality. This is naturally the growing view of the subject entertained by the more energetic negroes, and the one which year by year, with the education of the race, is certain to increase in its insistent demand for recognition of the negro's position, both before the law and in all matters of social concern.

Slowly coming to results, this tendency, which for the past ten years has been developing itself among the negroes, first took definite shape in a national conference which met at Niagara Falls on July 11, 1905, and in which prominent negro representatives were present from fourteen states of the Union. At this meeting the national organization was formed which calls itself "The Niagara Movement," and which is certain, from the numbers and character of its membership and the vigor of its purpose, to achieve a high position as the representative organization of the more ardent spirits of the negro race.

In addition to its general consideration of the necessities of the black men and women, and the suggestion of various lines of endeavor for their industrial advancement, the main purpose of the organization appears to be to place before the people of the country in practical form a proposed negro solution of the problem.

After a year of work and propagandism, in August, 1906, the organization held its second meeting, at Harpers Ferry, and issued an address to the country which has been widely circulated, North and South, and which is herein set forth in full, as the final and insistent demand of the negro for

“industrial, political, and social equality as the only solution of the problem.”

THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

Address to the Country.

The men of the Niagara Movement, coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the negro-hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the slave—a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge, and, in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: Fear to let black men even try

to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal.

First, we would vote. With the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth, and forever.

Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against capitalist as well as laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted, and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no state allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

The failure of the Republican party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretence.

Fifth. We want our children educated. The school

system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace, and in few towns and cities are the negro schools what they ought to be. We want the National Government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote, by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth, by sacrifice and work.

We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here, on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property, to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free.

Our enemies, triumphant for the present, are fighting the stars in their courses. Justice and humanity must prevail. We live to tell these dark brothers of ours—scattered in counsel, wavering and weak—that no bribe of money or notoriety, no promise of wealth or fame, is worth the surrender of a people's manhood or the loss of a man's self-respect. We refuse to surrender the leadership of this race to cowards and trucklers. We are men; we will be treated as men. On this rock we have planted our banners.

We will never give up, though the trump of doom find us still fighting.

And we shall win. The past promised it, the present foretells it. Thank God for John Brown! Thank God for Garrison and Douglass, Sumner and Phillips, Nat Turner and Robert Gould Shaw, and all the hallowed dead who died for freedom! Thank God for all those to-day, few though their voices be, who have not forgotten the divine brotherhood of all men, white and black, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate!

We appeal to the young men and women of this nation, to those whose nostrils are not yet befouled by greed and snobbery and racial narrowness: Stand up for the right, prove yourselves worthy of your heritage, and, whether born North or South, dare to treat men as men. Cannot the nation that has absorbed ten million foreigners into its political life without catastrophe absorb ten million negro Americans into that same political life at less cost than their unjust and illegal exclusion will involve?

Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. All across the skies sit signs of promise. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace. The morning breaks over blood-stained hills. We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.

Harpers Ferry, W. Va., August 16-19, 1906.

Disregarding for the moment the exaggeration of the language contained in the foregoing manifesto, its rhodomontade fairly expresses the sentiment of that school of the negro race which is pressing for the full recognition of its legal and political rights, and who can gainsay the justice of its demands? Sneer as we may at the contrast between the negro's readiness to threaten and his ability to perform,

there is certainly to be discerned in the Niagara Movement the beginning of a process of thought that with the fully awakened negro mind portends trouble and danger in the future.

Note the scarcely veiled menace of armed force and the call to the other backward races as examples of this spirit of aspiration, and you will begin to appreciate the character of the thought now working in the mind of the despised black man and to comprehend the methods by which he intends to assert his equality. And further, is there anything demanded in the foregoing circular beyond what may reasonably be claimed by any man who finds himself possessed, even in name, of the proud distinction of American citizenship?

The allegations of the circular are founded upon truth, and the demands of the black man are not devoid of dignity. Given an increase of negro education to be developed by the millions of the North poured into the South through the efforts of the Southern Educational Conference, combined with the acquisition of wealth and financial importance based upon land-holding and industrial progress, as advocated by President Washington, and as the years roll around the power of the Niagara Movement and kindred negro associations will make itself a thing of serious import.

The circulation of documents of the character of the foregoing statement of the purposes of the Niagara Movement throughout the Southern States, combined with the increasing ability of the black men and women of that section to read and understand their meaning, is certainly as little calculated to inculcate in the race the doctrine of passive submission to present conditions as the introduction of abolition literature was to reconcile the race to its former state of slavery.

Nor is the negro satisfied with the strength of his own position in this respect. He is inclined to call to his aid the

yellow and brown races of mankind in an effort to establish a comprehensive fraternal feeling with them, or, perhaps more accurately, to secure their assistance by the development of a feeling of hostility on their part toward the white man for his asserted racial superiority.

The Problem of the Color Line.

Frederick Douglass was an ardent advocate not only of intermarriage between white and black, but also of the establishment of what he called a "cosmopolitan nationality," and opposed with bitter eloquence the original Chinese Exclusion Act as an unjustifiable discrimination against the Mongolian race.

In his address at Montclair, New Jersey, July 4, 1906, President Booker T. Washington took the ground that this country was making a great mistake in excluding Chinese as immigrants, and asserted that it would be better for the nation to allow them to become members and citizens. His words were doubtless inspired by the idea that these retarded races by combining their forces would establish a solidarity of interest and strengthen each other in the inevitable struggle which must result from their physical presence, coupled with their inability to attain a respectable standard of American citizenship.

Professor William E. Burghardt DuBois, in his recent work on *Atlanta University*, gives fuller expression to the negro's sentiments upon this important phase of the subject:

. . . There is no doubt of the unfortunate spread of anti-Negro prejudice in the North in recent years. There is no doubt of the spread of the caste spirit, even beyond the color line. This is a national calamity and calls for something more than exclamations and sighs on our part. It is not surely too much to ask that parents and teachers of the future citizens of the nation should see to it that they themselves are broad enough and honest enough and brave

enough to recognize human desert and accomplishment under any human guise and to teach their pupils and children to do likewise; for this is no passing difficulty; no merely local problem; nothing of even simply national concern. We have a way in America of wanting to be rid of the problem. It is not so much a desire to reach the best and largest solution as it is to clear the board and start a new game. Of this, our most sinister social problem, the future status and development of 9,000,000 Negroes, most Americans are simply tired and impatient. They do not want to solve it; they do not want to understand it; they want simply to be done with it and hear the last of it. Of all possible attitudes, this is the most dangerous, because it fails to realize the most significant fact of the opening century, namely, that the Negro problem in America is but a local phase of a world problem, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line." Many smile incredulously at such a proposition, but let us see. The tendency of the great nations of the day is territorial and political expansion, but in nearly every case this has brought them in contact with darker peoples, so that we have to-day, England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, and the United States in close contact with yellow, brown, and black peoples. The older idea was that the whites would eventually displace the native races and inherit the earth; but this idea has been rudely shaken in the increase of the American Negroes and of the native races in India, South Africa, and the West Indies, and in the development of South America. The policy of expansion then simply means world problems of the color line; the color question enters into the German and English imperial politics, shadows the problem of the Turk, shook the Triple Alliance through Italy's overthrow in Abyssinia, covers the islands of the sea from Australia to Hawaii and floods our continent from Alaska to Patagonia. Nor is this all. Since 732, when Charles Martel beat back the Saracens at Tours, the white races

have had the hegemony, so far that white and civilized have become synonymous in everyday speech and men had wellnigh forgotten where civilization started. Today for the first time in a thousand years the great white nation is measuring arms with the yellow nation, and is shown to be distinctly inferior in civilization and ability. Whatever its end may be, the Russo-Japanese war is epoch making. The foolish modern magic of the word "white" is already broken, and the color line has been crossed in modern times as it was in the great past; the awakening of the yellow races is certain, whether Japan wins or loses; that the awakening of the brown and black races will follow in time no unprejudiced student of history can doubt; shall the awakening of these sleeping millions be in accordance with and aided by the greater ideals of white civilization or be in spite of them and against them? This is the problem of the yellow peril and of the color line, and it is the problem of the American Negro. Force and fear and repression have hitherto marked our attitude toward darker races. Shall this continue or be replaced by freedom and friendship and opening opportunity? Atlanta University stands for opportunity.

One thing, however, clearly appears despite this apparent inability of the negro to suggest a feasible solution of the problem, and that is the intense dissatisfaction of the race with its present circumstances and prospects. The one absorbing subject of negro thought is the story of past injustice, present deprivation, and the prospect of unfavorable future conditions. The literature of the race is upon its prose side confined almost entirely to the discussion of past and present wrongs, and to expostulation against existing prejudices, which the writers apparently assume could be overcome by a mere effort of the will of those entertaining them.

Throughout both prose and poetry there is to be found a note of indignant pessimism, a vague remonstrance against

the white race for its assumed attitude of supercilious supremacy. One cannot read the books and magazine articles of the leaders of negro thought, or listen to their platform addresses, without realizing that, despite all disclaimers to the contrary, there dwells in the inner soul-consciousness of the writer or speaker a profound discontent as to the prospects of betterment, and an equally profound skepticism as to the intention of the white man ever to accord the desired equality.

In an eloquent and scholarly address delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture in Carnegie Hall, New York, on February 17, 1907, Professor DuBois, after pleading for industrial opportunity and educational assistance for his race, said that after all the main demand of the negro, the denial of which was a disgrace to the twentieth century, was for human respect, human sympathy, human brotherhood. In words of temperate, but none the less indignant, protest he pictured the disadvantages under which his race was laboring, and yet ventured to propose no remedy save the indefinite suggestion that America could by the application of the principles of human brotherhood give the world the solution of the problem of the color line.

Many of the wiser and more far-seeing members of the negro race have for years been constant in their advocacy of a more radical and enterprising plan for the extrication of their fellow men and women from their dependent and humiliating condition. But against the mass of ignorance and slothful selfishness which hampers the efforts of these ambitious spirits, the proposed plan has made but slight progress. We shall recur to it later in the work, where its commendable features will receive suitable discussion.

To sum up the whole situation in relation to the negro's efforts to arrive at a solution of the problem, it may be said that while the great majority are simply groping for light

and leadership, endeavoring to obtain a foothold from which, despite oppression and unfair discrimination, advancement may be effected, the leaders of the race are beginning to unite upon a general plan of industrial progression to be followed by a demand for the recognition of their rights of citizenship in the South and for assistance in their educational development from the wealthy North. Content for the moment to protest, the negro reserves his future right to demand.

Having thus given all practicable consideration to the various solutions proposed for this great problem, and having demonstrated not only the inadequacy of the currently proposed remedies to bring relief to the situation, but also their tendency to aggravate the difficulty and to increase its dangers, we may now turn more hopefully to what appears to be the true solution of the problem and the only efficacious means of extricating the American people from the burdens of racial contention imposed upon them by generations of error and indifference.

Before entering, however, upon this phase of the subject, let us pause for a moment to consider the solution proposed and steadfastly advocated by Abraham Lincoln, who, by common acclaim of both races, must be regarded as the one man whose long cherished convictions upon the subject are entitled to the most respectful consideration.

CHAPTER VII

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858.

PERHAPS of all men who have given the negro problem consideration, Abraham Lincoln was best qualified to pass judgment upon the subject of our discussion. He observed carefully, reasoned with logical accuracy, and was gifted with a prophetic vision which enabled him to predict in reference to this, as well as to many other subjects, the final outcome of the complication of the races.

He was of humble birth and grew to manhood under the most adverse circumstances, beginning life in a community where negroes were numerous, and where slavery was upheld and regulated by statute. His early years were passed in southern Indiana and southern Illinois amidst a population largely the outgrowth of emigration from Virginia and the

Carolinas, and thoroughly imbued with the Southern view of the relations of the negro to the Caucasian. In his boyhood he made his celebrated trip upon the flotilla of rafts to New Orleans, and on the way to that city was engaged in a desperate encounter with predatory negroes. In some fateful manner, from his earliest childhood to the hour of his death, he seems to have been intimately associated with the negro problem in some of its varied aspects.

We are familiar with the account of an apocryphal anecdote concerning his observation of the slave pens of New Orleans upon his first visit, followed by a solemn vow of dedication to the cause of the freedom of the slave in much the same fashion as young Hannibal is said to have been sworn upon the altar to cherish eternal enmity to Rome.

Singularly enough, in his boyish contribution of June 13, 1836, announcing his candidacy for the Legislature, his first political venture, he takes occasion to say:

I go for all sharing the privilege of the government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females.

A very early announcement of his liberality of view in regard to the extension of the franchise, and yet decided in its exclusion of negroes.

The next year, being then a young lawyer, in Springfield, in an address before the Young Men's Lyceum of that city, upon the perpetuation of our political institutions, he feels moved to remark in relation to an incident which is of familiar character in our time, as follows:

Turn, then, to that horror-striking scene at St. Louis. A single victim only was sacrificed there. This story is very short, and is perhaps the most highly tragic of any-

thing of its length that has ever been witnessed in real life. A mulatto man by the name of McIntosh was seized in the street, dragged to the suburbs of the city, chained to a tree, and actually burned to death;—and all within a single hour from the time he had been a freeman attending to his own business and at peace with the world.

Such incidents were unusual at that period and doubtless this one impressed young Lincoln. If a like tragic affair should occur in the South to-day, it would probably pass without particular comment, merely counting as one in the roll of lynchings of the year.

Time passed, and Lincoln was growing in comprehension of the gravity of the problem. He had been honored by the Spring-election to the General Assembly of Illinois. field Protest. Toward the close of the session of 1837 the subject of the enslavement of negroes having been made a topic of discussion in the Legislature, the following impressive protest was placed upon the record:

Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised, unless at the request of the people of the District.

The difference between these opinions and those con-

tained in the said resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

DAN STONE,
A. LINCOLN,

Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

There are few things in the history of the movement for the abolition of slavery more remarkable than the placing of this early protest of Lincoln and his obscure associate upon the legislative record. It betokens the sincere spirit of the man, his fervent feeling in support of freedom, and indicates that the subject of negro slavery was never to be long absent from his mind.

In a gossipy letter of September 27, 1841, to Miss Mary Speed, of Louisville, Kentucky, he makes the following observation upon the characteristics of the African race:

Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand-bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky, and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on

board. One whose offence for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable.

Entertaining these sentiments, it is not in the least singular that when, in 1848, he had reached the prominence of membership of the House of Representatives, he deemed it his duty to present a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The elaborate details of this proposed act are too long for insertion here, but they embraced the fullest provision for the emancipation of the blacks, with a fair and reasonable compensation to their owners. It is scarcely necessary to say that the measure failed of passage. Its introduction is noted here simply to display his advanced ideas on the welfare of the race and to indicate the progress of his development in relation to the problem.

During all these years of his early political life, Lincoln was an admirer and devoted follower of the great Henry Clay, and upon the death of that renowned **Memorial Address on Henry Clay.** Kentuckian, in 1852, he was invited to address the people of Illinois in the State House at Springfield. In the course of an eloquent and appreciative memorial address he embraced the opportunity to say, in connection with the well-known sentiments of the eminent statesman of whom he was speaking:

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1816. Mr. Clay, though not its projector, was one of its earliest members; and he died, as for many preceding years he had been, its president. It was one of the most cherished objects of his direct care and consideration,

and the association of his name with it has probably been its very greatest collateral support. He considered it no demerit in the society that it tended to relieve the slaveholders from the troublesome presence of the free negroes; but this was far from being its whole merit in his estimation. In the same speech from which we have quoted he says: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, whose ways are often inscrutable by shortsighted mortals, thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the globe?" This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized! Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If, as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and at the same time in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this too so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if to such a consummation the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind.

And yet he was but at the beginning of the path. The

anti-slavery discussion became more impassioned, the great never-ending debate upon the negro question was on, and October 16, 1854, in a powerful speech at Peoria, Illinois, in reply to Senator Stephen A. Douglas and in repelling the suggestion that he entertained a feeling of animosity toward the Southern people, Lincoln used the following language:

Debate
with
Douglas.

When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals. My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does

seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

It was not merely in public that Lincoln found occasion to express his sentiments upon the subject. We find under date of August 15, 1855, in a letter to George Robertson, Esquire, of Lexington, Kentucky, on the general subject of politics of the period, this further expression of his thought:

That spirit which desired the peaceful extinction of slavery has itself become extinct with the occasion and the men of the Revolution. Under the impulse of that occasion, nearly half the States adopted systems of emancipation at once, and it is a significant fact that not a single State has done the like since. So far as peaceful voluntary emancipation is concerned, the condition of the negro slave in America, scarcely less terrible to the contemplation of a free mind, is now as fixed and hopeless of change for the better as that of the lost souls of the finally impenitent. The Autocrat of All the Russias will resign his crown and proclaim his subjects free republicans sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves.

Our political problem now is, "Can we as a nation continue together permanently—forever—half slave and half free?" The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in His mercy, superintend the solution. Your much obliged friend and humble servant,

A. LINCOLN.

This passage is peculiarly significant, as it gives pathetic indication of the concern which he entertained as to the coming events in which he was soon to bear so momentous a part. In less than ten years from the writing of this letter, one important step, indeed, had been taken toward the solution of the problem which he declared to be too mighty for him. Technically, freedom for the slave had been

achieved, but at the cost of his invaluable life, sacrificed as the martyr spirit of the cause which is yet likely to demand further victims.

Time ran along, and on June 26, 1857, again in debate with his redoubtable political antagonist, Senator Douglas, he enunciates the following sentiment:

There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people at the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races; and Judge Douglas evidently is basing his chief hope upon the chances of his being able to appropriate the benefit of this disgust to himself. If he can, by much drumming and repeating, fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries, he thinks he can struggle through the storm. He therefore clings to this hope as a drowning man to the last plank. He makes an occasion for lugging it in from the opposition to the Dred Scott decision. He finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes ALL men, black as well as white, and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does, do so only because they want to vote, and eat, and sleep, and marry with negroes! He will have it that they cannot be consistent else. Now I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of any one else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

And in the same speech he further says:

Such separation, if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at

present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one; but "where there is a will there is a way," and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and at the same time favorable to, or at least not against, our interest to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be. The children of Israel, to such numbers as to include four hundred thousand fighting men, went out of Egyptian bondage in a body.

There soon follows the famous joint debate with Douglas, and in Lincoln's opening speech at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858, are to be found the words quoted at the head of this chapter. They are to be given special emphasis because with but very little variation of phraseology we find them frequently repeated in his speeches during the next two or three years. This was no casual expression of a transitory thought. The fact that in nearly the same language the idea was substantially repeated on various occasions indicates that it was carefully thought out and reduced to the written word, and may be considered as the mature expression of Lincoln's views upon the future relative positions of the white and black races in this country. Thus much for the theoretical discussion of his convictions on the subject of the future of the negro.

By the Presidential election of 1860, he was providentially called upon to take the lead in devising practical measures bearing upon the position of the African race, and we find in him no hesitancy in assuming this burden. In his first annual message, December, 1861, he gives renewed expression to his views upon the permanent solution of the problem in the following language, this being in connection with a recent act of

Lincoln's
First
Message.

Congress passed for the purpose of liberating negroes belonging to persons in arms against the government:

In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation, in lieu, *pro tanto*, of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively; that such persons, on such acceptance by the General Government, be at once deemed free; and that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing both classes (or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity—that without which the government itself cannot be perpetuated?

The subject of colonization of the negro appears to have been ever present in his thought. On April 16, 1862, in approving the act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, he announced to Congress his gratification that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act; thus never allowing an opportunity to pass unheeded by which he could bring the subject of the removal of the negro from the country to the attention of the people.

On July 12, 1862, as President, he addressed to the members of Congress from the border states an appeal intended to secure their co-operation in bringing about compensated emancipation of the slaves in their respective states, in which he employed the following language:

I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

We now come to consider a most remarkable expression of Lincoln's views on the race problem, one which can readily be found in any edition of his works, and which is commended to the minds of all thinking people, more especially to those of the negro race, in the present hour of doubt and discouragement. It appears that on August 14, 1862, he gave audience to a committee of negro men at the White House. They were introduced by the Reverend J. Mitchell, Commissioner of Emigration, when E. M. Thomas remarked that they were there by invitation to hear what the Executive had to say to them, thus indicating that the President had sought the opportunity to give expression to his views upon their future welfare. This followed:

**Lincoln's
Address to
Negro Men.**

Having all been seated, the President, after a few preliminary observations, informed them that a sum of money had been appropriated by Congress, and placed at his disposition, for the purpose of aiding the colonization in some country of the people, or a portion of them, of African descent, thereby making it his duty, as it had for a long time been his inclination, to favor that cause. And why, he asked, should the people of your race be colonized, and where? Why should they leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for consideration. You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated. You here are freemen, I suppose?

A voice: Yes, sir.

The President: Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race is suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoys. The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. We look to our condition. Owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery.

I believe in its general evil effects on the white race.

See our present condition—the country engaged in war—our white men cutting one another's throats—none knowing how far it will extend—and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. I know that there are freemen among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not as much inclined to go out of the country as those who, being slaves, could obtain their freedom on this condition. I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it. You may believe that you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your life as easily, perhaps more so, than you can in any foreign country; and hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country.

This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case. You ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves. There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us. Now, if you could give a start to the white people, you would open a wide door for many to be made free. If we deal with those who are not free at the beginning, and whose intellects are clouded by slavery, we have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored men, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically oppressed. There is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort for the

purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people. It is a cheering thought throughout life, that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary war sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. General Washington himself endured greater physical hardships than if he had remained a British subject, yet he was a happy man because he was engaged in benefiting his race, in doing something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

The colony of Liberia has been in existence a long time. In a certain sense it is a success. The old President of Liberia, Roberts, has just been with me—the first time I ever saw him. He says they have within the bounds of that colony between three and four hundred thousand people, or more than in some of our old States, such as Rhode Island or Delaware, or in some of our newer States, and less than in some of our larger ones. They are not all American colonists or their descendants. Something less than 12,000 have been sent thither from this country. Many of the original settlers have died; yet, like people elsewhere, their offspring outnumber those deceased. The question is, if the colored people are persuaded to go anywhere, why not there?

One reason for unwillingness to do so, is that some of you would rather remain within reach of the country of your nativity. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them. But still you are attached to them at all events.

The place I am thinking about for a colony is in Central America. It is nearer to us than Liberia—not much more than one-fourth as far as Liberia, and within seven days' run by steamers. Unlike Liberia, it is a great line of travel

—it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native soil, thus being suited to your physical condition. The particular place I have in view is to be a great highway from the Atlantic or Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and this particular place has all the advantages for a colony. On both sides there are harbors—among the finest in the world. Again, there is evidence of very rich coal mines. A certain amount of coal is valuable in any country. Why I attach so much importance to coal is, it will afford an opportunity to the inhabitants for immediate employment till they get ready to settle permanently in their homes. If you take colonists where there is no good landing, there is a bad show; and so where there is nothing to cultivate and of which to make a farm. But if something is started so that you can get your daily bread as soon as you reach there, it is a great advantage. Coal land is the best thing I know of with which to commence an enterprise.

To return—you have been talked to upon this subject, and told that a speculation is intended by gentlemen who have an interest in the country, including the coal mines. We have been mistaken all our lives if we do not know whites, as well as blacks, look to their self-interest. Unless among those deficient of intellect, everybody you trade with makes something. You meet with these things here and everywhere. If such persons have what will be an advantage to them, the question is, whether it cannot be made of advantage to you? You are intelligent, and know that success does not so much depend on external help as on self-reliance. Much, therefore, depends upon yourselves. As to the coal mines, I think I see the means available for your self-reliance. I shall, if I get a sufficient number of you engaged, have provision made that you shall not be wronged. If you will engage in the enterprise, I will spend some of the money intrusted to me. I am not sure you will succeed. The government may lose the

money; but we cannot succeed unless we try; and we think, with care, we can succeed. The political affairs in Central America are not in quite as satisfactory a condition as I wish. There are contending factions in that quarter; but, it is true, all the factions are agreed alike on the subject of colonization, and want it, and are more generous than we are here.

To your colored race they have no objection. I would endeavor to have you made the equals, and have the best assurance that you should be, the equals of the best.

The practical thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to "cut their own fodder," so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could find twenty-five able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children,—good things in the family relation, I think,—I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance—worthy of a month's study, instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you, then, to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, nor for your race and ours for the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind—not confined to the present generation, but as

From age to age descends the lay
To millions yet to be,
Till far its echoes roll away
Into eternity.

The chairman of the delegation briefly replied that they would hold a consultation, and in a short time give an answer.

The President said: Take your full time—no hurry at all.

The delegation then withdrew.

There is something peculiarly graphic and instructive in the account of this interview. It is presented in full as the most complete exposition of Lincoln's deliberate conclusions upon the question. We can picture to ourselves the kindly figure of the gaunt, haggard President in this hour of the nation's peril, oppressed and borne down by the weight of his official cares and duties, surrounded by the wondering black men, giving expression to these far-reaching, prophetic views. The conclusion is in itself characteristic.

The chairman of the delegation said that after consultation they would give an answer. None ever came. What answer could they devise to meet an argument in itself unanswerable?

Events hurried along. Those were indeed days of test and trial. Shortly after the lapse of a month from the **Lincoln's Views on Colonization.** foregoing interview, Lincoln issued his world famous Emancipation Proclamation, in which he once more embodied his views on the solution of the problem by stating in the second paragraph:

And that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

Again, in his second annual message, December 1, 1862, he recurs to the subject as follows:

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties at home and abroad—

some from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments—have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish-American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances I have declined to move any such colony to any state without first obtaining the consent of its government, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all the rights of freemen; and I have at the same time offered to the several states situated within the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just and humane. Liberia and Hayti are as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, opinion among them in this respect is improving; and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries from the United States.

In this same message, after full discussion of the subject, and after using the following language—

Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generations of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation—

he proposed the following amendment to the United States Constitution:

CONGRESS MAY APPROPRIATE MONEY AND OTHERWISE PROVIDE FOR COLONIZING FREE COLORED PERSONS, WITH

THEIR OWN CONSENT, AT ANY PLACE OR PLACES WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

And in further detailed discussion of this project, he elaborately argues, demonstrating, with an almost mathematical accuracy, the fact that the removal of the African people from the country would at once inure to their benefit and to the benefit of the laboring people, North and South. If any number of persons are still disposed to question the benefits which would be derived by the working people of the country at the present time from the adoption of Lincoln's solution, they are commended to a diligent reading of the President's message of 1862.

His labors had not entirely failed of effect. Such enthusiasm as his is very contagious, and even in the midst of the most trying circumstances an effort was made to realize his aspirations.

Space does not permit a discussion of the abortive attempt to make a beginning of the deportation of the African race. The pitiful sum of two or three hundred thousand dollars was spent for the purpose, an agreement was made with presumably respectable people by which a colony was to be established at Ile à Vâche, within the Republic of Hayti, and a Bureau of Emigration was organized in the Department of the Interior. Six hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose, a sum which, considering the magnitude of the undertaking, appears to have been ludicrously inadequate. An attempt also was made to establish a colony in the Republic of Colombia, but the government of that country was found to be hostile to the enterprise, and both projects failed, for lack of support.

Lincoln expressed his deep regret at the failure of his efforts, but nothing seems to have caused him to relinquish hope of the final successful outcome of his plan.

As the end of the war drew near, the more pressing civil and military problems appear temporarily to have diverted Lincoln's mind from his cherished plan of colonization. But as the continued success of the Union arms, in the spring of 1865, brought the assurance of a speedy termination of the conflict, the gravity of the problems incident to the restoration of the national authority throughout the South brought him again to his unwavering purpose of colonization of the negro as the only solution of the then pending difficulty.

In his interesting book of memoirs, General Benjamin F. Butler narrates, at page 903, a conversation held with President Lincoln early in April, 1865. In the course of the conversation the President said:

But what shall we do with the negroes after they are free? I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace, unless we can get rid of the negroes. Certainly they cannot if we don't get rid of the negroes whom we have armed and disciplined and who have fought with us, to the amount, I believe, of some one hundred and fifty thousand men. I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves.

You have been a staunch friend of the race from the time you first advised me to enlist them at New Orleans. You have had a good deal of experience in moving bodies of men by water,—your movement up the James was a magnificent one. Now, we shall have no use for our very large army; what, then, are our difficulties in sending all the blacks away?

If these black soldiers of ours go back to the South I am afraid that they will be but little better off with their masters than they were before, and yet they will be free men. I fear a race war, and it will be at least a guerilla

war because we have taught these men how to fight. All the arms of the South are now in the hands of their troops, and when we capture them we of course will take their arms. There are plenty of men in the North who will furnish the negroes with arms if there is any oppression of them by their late masters.

I wish you would carefully examine the question and give me your views upon it and go into the figures, as you did before in some degree, so as to show whether the negroes can be exported.

General Butler continues:

I said, I will go over this matter with all diligence and tell you my conclusions as soon as I can.

The second day after that, I called early in the morning, and said: Mr. President, I have gone very carefully over my calculations as to the power of the country to export the negroes of the South, and I assure you that using all your naval vessels and all the merchant marine fit to cross the seas with safety, it will be impossible for you to transport them to the nearest place that can be found fit for them,—and that is the Island of San Domingo,—half as fast as negro children will be born here.

It would be interesting to know what method of calculation General Butler followed to reach this absurd conclusion.

There then follows the details of a conversation in which General Butler proposed that the negro troops in the service of the United States, then numbering 150,000, should be transported to the United States of Colombia and set to work digging a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, with the ultimate purpose of afterward bringing down the wives and children of the soldiers, and such other negroes as might desire to emigrate, and establishing a large negro colony in that region which would protect the canal and the interests of the United States against the world.

President Lincoln reflected awhile, having given the matter his serious attention, and then spoke up, using his favorite phrase, "There is meat in that, General Butler, there is meat in that; but how will it affect our foreign relations?"

He then suggested to General Butler the advisability of presenting the project in writing to Secretary Seward for his opinion, and elaborating the details for this scheme of colonization. Before this could be done, Secretary Seward sustained a severe accident; the war came to an end, Lincoln's assassination ensued, and with his death the project was for the time abandoned.

Doubtless, had Lincoln been permitted a longer tenure of life, he would have recurred to his solution of the problem, and taken measures to place it in operation. In his message of December, 1865, he doubtless would have presented to Congress a plan for the gradual colonization of the negro race, as an adjunct to measures of reconstruction of the conquered states of the South. Such, at least, would have been the logical outcome of the sequence of thought of this perspicacious man as we have followed it in his published words and his attempts towards its actual realization.

But the hand of fate intervened, and the assassin's bullet removed the man of all men at once the truest friend of the black race, the most endowed with knowledge of its needs and capabilities and the most truly inspired with kindly sympathy for its condition.

Another school of thought superseded the policies of Abraham Lincoln. Under the dictation of Sumner, Stevens, and Butler the extraordinary theory was evolved that the newly emancipated negro was in all respects the natural equal of the white man, and that all that was necessary to demonstrate this to be the fact was the ballot to establish his political control in the Southern States, and drastic

Civil Rights Laws to proclaim and enforce his social equality throughout the land. But the ballot dropped a useless weapon from his untutored hand, and the enactments designed to secure his civil rights, passed with such vociferous acclaim, kept the promise of social equality to his ear only to break it to his hope.

The earnest effort has been to tell the story of Lincoln's relation to the problem and to set forth his views of its solution as the words fell from his own lips and pen during the period of his prolonged service on behalf of the negro race. It may be added that nowhere is there to be found in his published works any indication that he ever found occasion to modify or change his sentiments upon this subject. On the contrary, his state papers abound with fugitive expressions on the differing aspects of the topic, denoting that this solution was continually present in his thoughts as he pondered over the problems of national concern.

Was Lincoln right in his proposed solution of the negro problem? He was a man of profound belief in the capacity of human nature, in its impulses for good, in its desire for spiritual attainment. He was peculiarly gifted with the instinct of unswerving justice and was incapable of long advocating a plan involving the slightest violation of human rights. He saw all qualities of human dealing with a learned and benign spirit. Did he then fail to comprehend the principles upon which alone a solution is possible?

Other great problems confronted him, and to their solution he brought the same resolution and perspicacity that marked his dealing with the negro question. In his domination of other strong men he was masterful of purpose and successful in result. Who but he could by degrees have consolidated the divided North and moulded it into a unit for the suppression of the rebellion? What hand but his

Was
Lincoln's
Solution
Right?

could so tactfully have guided our foreign relations as to have averted the intervention of England and France in behalf of the South without sacrifice of the national dignity? Did he not, in his dealing with military as well as civil affairs, display acumen, foresight, courage, and commanding intelligence?

Familiar with the past, wise in present action, with seer-like vision, he read the future and predicted the very evils described in this work from which the land is now suffering and which it is our duty to remove.

WAS HE NOT RIGHT IN HIS PROPOSED SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM? And if the solution was right in 1865, is it not equally right to-day?

Emancipation first, and colonization afterward. Fortunately, he lived to see the first effected; in some form the second is yet to come. Each passing year emphasizes the tremendous error of the reversal of Lincoln's long-cherished and profoundly contemplated plan for the solution of the problem by means of a policy of colonization. In its magnified dimensions the difficulty has descended to us, and unless our faith, courage, and devotion to duty mount in proportion to its increasing magnitude, and unless our wisdom prove itself equal to cope with the ever-increasing perplexity of the situation, we are likely to transmit the problem, unsolved, to vex our children and our children's children to the remotest generations. Nobly did Lincoln bear his part. The present duty is ours.

Can we, then, do better than to take up the task where it fell unfinished from Lincoln's tired hands, and on his lines and in his spirit of malice toward none, and charity for all, work out the solution of the problem?

BOOK III
The True Solution

CHAPTER I

THE PROPOSED SOLUTION

Reform it altogether.—HAMLET.

THE purpose of the discussion contained in the foregoing pages, however imperfectly executed, has been accurately to describe the present condition of the negro problem, and to set it before the readers in all the gravity of its naked reality. The endeavor has been made to describe its origin and history, its magnitude, its difficulties and dangers, and especially to emphasize its ever-pressing demand for solution.

The effort has been to demonstrate that the existence of an alien, inferior, and unassimilable race, separated by insurmountable racial barriers from the great majority of the citizens of the United States, is incompatible with the genius of our democratic institutions, and that the continuance of the present condition operates as a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of the country.

Let us briefly summarize the discussion to this point:

(1) We have seen that the problem derives its origin from the presence of this alien, inferior, and unassimilable race, and that its solution is to be found in the adoption of a policy by which the two races may co-operate in securing for each the fullest opportunity for development, and in carrying such a policy into practical operation.

(2) We have carefully examined the current remedies proposed for the admitted evil, and have found each in turn to be inadequate for the purpose:

(a) The proposed remedies of extermination, and of amalgamation of the races, are found to be mere counsels of desperation, odious in theory and impracticable in operation, and the general *laissez-faire* policy thus far permitted to prevail must at once be condemned as an unworthy evasion of present responsibility, and dismissed as a cowardly shifting of the difficulty to succeeding generations.

(b) The solution of the South, now in practical operation, must be rejected as being opposed to the fundamental idea of American democracy, as inevitably resulting in the reduction of the negro to a condition of permanent serfdom, and further as involving the corresponding degradation of the white men of the South and the retardation of the industrial and ethical progress of that section.

(c) The remedy of the North, based upon increased education and industrial development of the negro, may also be dismissed as operating only to aggravate the problem, by leading to strife between the races in the South, and eventually through political exigencies to a renewal of the sectional conflict between the divisions of our country.

(d) The negro's solution of the problem, in so far as such solution has been given expression, either in the insistent demand for present political recognition and educational opportunity, or in the slower development of the theory of President Booker T. Washington, of progress through industrial advancement, is still more objectionable. Both of these plans in the end involve recognition of the negro's social equality, impossible of attainment. In practice, they constitute an ignoble, silent submission to wrong on the one hand, and an ineffectual protest against adverse conditions impossible for the race to overcome, on the other.

(3) And, finally, we have been privileged to look into the mind of America's most patient political philosopher and far-sighted statesman, and to deduce from his repeated

expressions upon the subject the plan which he, in the fulness of his wisdom and the maturity of his experience, had developed for the solution of the problem.

We have further established in our review of present conditions that the negro has never in the full significance of the term secured his recognition as an American citizen. That when, as a freedman, he was in his unprepared condition entrusted with the ballot, he proved himself incapable of using it to his own advantage or to the advantage of the community in which he was situated, and that as a result of forty years of fruitless experiment in this direction he has been completely disfranchised throughout the South, the white vote in the same section also largely suppressed, and an oligarchy of wealth and privilege established. Further, it has been proved by the indisputable statistics of the case, that by means of this disfranchised vote of white and black the South exercises in the national councils and in the Electoral College an influence far greater than its just proportion, whether measured upon the basis of numbers, of wealth, or of intelligence.

We have seen, in addition to all this, that so long as the barrier against social equality is maintained (and it will be maintained in perpetuity), the negro's prospect of advancement is very discouraging, and that there is for him in this country little opportunity for the acquirement of the rights and privileges of a citizen. Upon social equality all hinges. Without that, it follows that there can be no industrial equality, no educational equality, no political equality, no matrimonial equality. Finally, as a result of our survey, we arrive at the conclusion that the solution of the problem must be sought in some entirely different direction.

At this point the discussion turns. We are now to seek the true remedy for the evil; to consider what to the writer appears to be the only effectual solution of the negro prob-

lem; to examine the measures advocated for carrying out the proposed solution, and to demonstrate that, difficult as the task may be, it is easily within the power of a people resolutely determined upon its performance and animated by high principles of civic virtue.

The Remedy Proposed. There is, after all, but one way to extirpate an evil. The cause of the evil must be removed. Other remedies may palliate its baneful effects, or, indeed, postpone to another generation the adoption of measures necessary for its correction. But so long as the cause of the evil remains, no mere palliative can avail, and no postponement can evade the final necessity for a thorough reformation.

The solution proposed in this work is the solution of Abraham Lincoln. Had he lived to participate in the reconstruction of the Confederate States, there is no doubt that whatever plan he would have proposed to Congress for the assurance of the future of the negro population would have embraced a project for the colonization of such persons as desired to take advantage of the opportunity, and a liberal scheme of assisted emigration for such freedmen as might desire to leave the country.

It is unfortunate that by reason of the virulent controversy which ensued after his death between the executive and the legislative departments of the government, the real welfare of the negro was overlooked, and that the measures of reconstruction adopted were founded upon supposed political exigencies, and not upon a broad, philosophic comprehension of the nature of the two races.

But forty years of experiment have proved the futility of the theory that by conferring citizenship and the voting privilege upon the negro the problem of the centuries could be solved; and, as in the lifetime of a nation or of a race these forty years are but as a day, it is fortunately not too late

frankly to acknowledge the errors of the past and resolutely and intelligently to set our faces in the right direction. Instructed by the mistakes of the past, the endeavor of the present should be to bring about a wiser and saner solution of the problem.

For that purpose, and with all becoming deference to those who perhaps in this regard are far wiser than the writer, **The General Plan Stated.** the following plan for the solution of the negro problem is presented:

I

The absolute and unequivocal recognition and declaration of the fact that the negro race is, as a matter of present condition, alien, inferior, and unassimilable, and is therefore not qualified to constitute an element of future American citizenship.

II

In recognition of this fact, the adoption of a policy for the gradual removal of the negro race from the country, not in a spirit of hostility to the negro, but as a measure necessary for the permanent welfare of both races, and in which each will co-operate in carrying the project into execution.

III

As means to that end, the adoption of the following remedial provisions, clearly defining the future status of the negro race:

(1) The modification of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so as to provide that all persons of the negro race born after the year 1925 shall be excluded from national citizenship, and

until that time conferring upon each state the power of regulation over the subject of state citizenship.

The repeal of the second section of the same amendment, as being inconsistent with the continuance of a republican form of government, and the substitution of a simple provision basing representation solely upon the number of citizens.

(2) The repeal of all civil rights acts, state and national, and of all other provisions of law designed to confer upon the negro privileges other than those based upon his intrinsic merit and demonstrated service to society.

(3) The enactment in all the states of laws prohibiting the intermarriage of the white and negro races.

(4) The absolute prohibition of the immigration of persons of negro blood.

As further means to that end, the adoption of the following measures to effect the gradual and peaceful removal of the negro race from the country:

(1) A carefully devised and generously assisted plan to induce the voluntary emigration of all persons of African blood. The successful operation of the plan to be secured by means of offering sufficiently liberal inducements to individuals, families, and communities to withdraw from the United States and to establish themselves in other countries affording them greater opportunities for material advancement and more favorable conditions for social and political independence.

As incident to this feature of the plan, the acquirement of one or more tracts of territory suitable for the purposes of colonization, and, if found necessary and feasible, the assumption of a protectorate for that purpose over the Island of Hayti or perhaps Liberia, provided, of course, that the consent of either or both of those countries could be obtained.

The work of emigration to be carried on under the supervision and control of a Cabinet officer, designated as the

Secretary of Emigration, whose duties should also include those now discharged by the Commissioner-General of Immigration in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

(2) The appropriation of such sums of money by Congress as may be necessary to accomplish the purpose of removal, after being authorized to that end by an amendment to the Constitution similar to that advocated by Lincoln.

(3) The establishment of a penal colony for the negro race in some suitable locality, outside of the United States, where all negro criminals would be transported, to be cared for in accordance with the most improved system of modern, scientific penology. Such a colony to be located, if possible, in propinquity to the principal point of colonization, so that upon reformation ex-convicts could be readily put in the way of gaining an honest livelihood by removal to the permanent colony.

(4) The employment of negroes at liberal compensation in Cuba, Porto Rico, and at Panama, as well as upon all future public works outside of the country.

(5) Ultimately, and in the exceedingly improbable event of any considerable portion of the negro race being found to be willing to remain in this country and despicably to submit to occupy the position of a subject and disfranchised element of our population, and should the exigencies of the situation demand such action, the removal, under authority of law, of such residue to a suitable locality, there to be segregated from the white race, and ruled and cared for as wards of the nation.

Such, in brief, is the simple, definite solution which the writer has the temerity to offer for the settlement of this prob-

**The
Radical
Character
of the
Solution.**

lem. It differs from the other proposed solutions which have been the subject of our consideration, in that it presents a certain and practical remedy for the evil. It goes to the origin of the question,

and by eliminating the negro as a factor in the citizenship of the country, and effecting the physical removal of the race, works out a radical disposition of the difficulty.

It is, of course, beyond the expectation of the writer that the plan thus formulated should be more than a general outline of the measures necessary to carry into effect the principle of the separation of the races advocated by Lincoln as the only solution of the problem.

At first blush, the proposition may seem to be one of startling character and without any exact analogy in history, but because a thing is new it is not therefore to be condemned. If no precedent exists in history for the proposed solution, it is because, as we have remarked in a former chapter, there has never been a national situation of like character, and no great race problem, even of similar characteristics, which has been worked out in the beneficent spirit in which it is proposed that our statesmen should approach this gigantic task.

The proposition for the gradual removal of some ten millions of men, women, and children, citizens of our country, whose ancestors have for generations been nourished upon our soil, is, indeed, radical, and calculated at its first statement to impress the reader as being of an impractical nature. The difficulties of the situation are so great, the public mind has been accustomed for so long a period to contemplate the problem from an entirely different attitude, that for the moment one is inclined to give but little heed to a proposition so novel and startling in its character.

And yet, unless the argument contained in the foregoing chapters is of fallacious character, it would seem to be clearly demonstrated that the only way in which the two races may secure unimpeded development in the future is through their absolute racial separation. All thorough students of the problem are substantially tending toward agreement upon

this point, and therefore the only question demanding investigation is whether the races are to remain as separate, integral units in this country, or whether the future welfare of both does not insistently demand their more complete segregation.

As the proposed plan does involve a complete change of national thought in regard to the future relations of the respective races, and compels the abandonment of the theory which has prevailed during the past forty years,—viz., that the destiny of the negro must be worked out in co-operation with the white man in this country,—at first view the project of assisted removal may appear to many to be chimerical. But the plan invites consideration, and as we most frequently find the true solution of a difficult and perplexing problem in the adoption of some expedient which has heretofore been summarily dismissed as impossible, so in this instance present circumstances signally favor the taking up afresh of the plan of assisted emigration and colonization of the black race.

If, after a careful study of the present situation and future prospects of the negro in this country, no insuperable objection to the proposed plan is apparent, it certainly would appear to be the part of wisdom to adopt measures to facilitate the emigration of the race. There can be no doubt whatever that a considerable proportion of negro men and women would, under favoring conditions, be willing to seek new opportunities in other lands, and if the proposed remedy should not at once prove to be successful in operation, it would involve no hardship and entail but slight expense. By making an effort to relieve the situation in this definite manner, the philanthropically minded people of the country would have at least the satisfaction of having made an honest attempt to better the condition of this unfortunate people.

Further, should the proposed remedy prove effectual only in part, and result in the emigration of considerable

numbers of the African race, to that extent at least the situation would be alleviated; and the rule to be followed respecting this proposed work is, that if all that might be done cannot be at once effected, it is at least incumbent upon us to minimize the evils of the problem.

The suggested remedy is not to be adopted in any spirit of hostility toward the negro. Recognizing our responsibility as a nation for his presence in the United States, our further responsibility for his condition of ignorance and incapacity resulting from generations of slavery, and our still continuing responsibility for his present disheartening prospects, it is by no means an overstatement of the case to assert that we owe to the negro the duty of sparing no expense and of stinting no effort to place him in a position where he may command the three indispensable requisites for material advancement and moral development—freedom, education, and opportunity.

If the proposed plan necessitates the infliction of further wrong upon the negro race, if it does not square itself with all tests of justice and fair dealing, it is not to be for a moment considered, whatever beneficial effects upon the destiny of the white population of the country might be expected to follow its adoption.

This proposed solution is by no means novel. Indeed, in one aspect or another it has been presented in many discussions of the subject. It is familiar history that it was in the early decades of the last century a favored suggestion for the solution of the slavery question, and that during the past twenty years it has been frequently referred to in a casual way as offering a possible deliverance from the present evil. But this true solution of the question appears to have been invariably dismissed as Utopian, either on account of its fancied injustice or by reason of its necessitating the ex-

The Solution not a Novel One.

penditure of great amounts of money to carry it into effect.

The general idea of colonization is old. Of the early progenitors of the abolition movement, the most famous, Benjamin Lundy, was an earnest advocate of this disposition of the negro, and all of his contemporaries looked upon the removal of the race from the country as the desirable end to be attained. The general plan of the early advocates of colonization was gradually to accomplish the manumission of the negro, and to transport the freedmen to the west coast of Africa, where it was thought that they could establish their own government, schools, business and religious institutions, and that there would be nothing then to prevent their attainment of their highest possible development. Further even than this, there was entertained the philanthropic purpose of carrying by means of this colonization the blessings of religion and civilization to the benighted denizens of the African continent.

For these purposes the American Colonization Society was organized in 1817, with its earliest and most ardent supporters in the Middle States, Maryland, and Virginia. While recognizing the fact that the institution of slavery had been firmly fastened upon the nation, it was hoped and expected that gradual emancipation might be accomplished by means of compensation to slave-owners, and that as fast as freedom was attained the negro would seek restoration to his native country.

In 1834 the Society appears to have reached its culminating point. At that time ex-President James Madison, of Virginia, was its President, and took an active interest in planning its work. Prominent among its Vice-Presidents were Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court; Marquis de Lafayette, who, though residing in France, re-

**The Amer-
ican Colo-
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Society.**

tained his early interest in the welfare of our country; William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Samuel Bayard, of New Jersey; Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts; and many other statesmen of high standing and political consequence. In fact, it may be said that while at that period the negro problem was not of pressing character, the enlightened brain and conscience of the country foresaw and appreciated the future difficulties certain to result from its continued existence, and sought by means of colonization to avert the appalling evils which it was destined to inflict upon their posterity.

The declared purposes of the Society were:

(1) To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their state of ignorance and dependence.

(2) To place them in a country where they might enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which follow in its train.

(3) To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion through the continent of Africa.

(4) To arrest and destroy the slave-trade.

(5) To assist slave-owners who wished or were willing to liberate their slaves, and to furnish an asylum for their reception.

The Society was based upon the recognition of the fact, which was even then becoming apparent, that this country was not the home of the negro and never could become his permanent abode. Its founders believed that while he might continue to live here he could never assert his privileges as a member of the political body, and could never develop his native powers; that the race would always remain an outcast people, mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, trodden under foot by the selfishness of the superior whites. They saw that in this country there was no prospect for him or his descendants but that of continued servitude,

and that even if legally emancipated he would continue to be the victim of a universal racial antipathy never to be overcome.

Then, as now, it was manifest that in this country the white and the black could never commingle, but that each race must separately work out its destiny. The plan of the organization, therefore, was to assist in the compensated emancipation of slaves without aggressively attacking the institution of slavery, and upon manumission to afford freedmen a place of refuge outside the boundaries of this country.

After many years of ineffectual effort to accomplish these objects, a bill was introduced in Congress, August 1, 1850, for the purpose of establishing a line of war steamers to the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade and the promotion of commerce and colonization. As will be more fully set forth in a subsequent chapter, the Colonization Society had already secured in Liberia a tract of country suitable for the colonizing of the African race, and had established a settlement, which from humble beginnings had begun to enjoy some degree of prosperity.

The bill in question provided for the construction of a fleet of warships, of not less than four thousand tons burden each,—large vessels for that time,—in which, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Navy, negroes could be taken to Africa and there supported until opportunity was given them to earn their own living and to become thoroughly established in their new home. The whole scheme was quite elaborately discussed, but as it menaced the slavery interest it met with the determined opposition of the South, and as it was not supported by interested public sentiment in any section of the country, the movement for the betterment of the negro's condition lost strength, the bill failed, and a valuable opportunity for the beginning of a successful colonization project was neglected.

However, at that time the project could not have succeeded upon a large scale,—the circumstances were unfavorable. The financial interests of the South forbade emancipation, and until emancipation was complete, colonization could not become effectual. The attacks of the abolitionists upon the institution of slavery had so incensed the Southern mind that any project looking toward the freedom of the black man could not secure an impartial hearing.

And so the original scheme for colonization came to naught, except in so far as it kept in the public mind the practicability of such a remedy for the negro problem; but as doubtless the resulting discussion had its effect in turning the mind of Abraham Lincoln to the formulation of his cherished plan of solution, described in the preceding chapter of this work, the movement was not wholly without result.

Let us, then, once more refer to his works and read from his annual message to Congress of December 1, 1862, the philosophic reasoning with which he prefaced his earnest presentation to that body of his plan for the solution of the negro problem by compensated emancipation of the slaves and the colonization of the freedmen on the lines advocated by the American Colonization Society. He said:

Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost.

Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generations of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

Lincoln's
Prophetic
Reasoning.

Even in the storm and stress of the conflict for the preservation of the Union, amidst the strife of arms and the turmoil of political struggle, his prescient mind instinctively sought and found the radical solution, which not only would effect the immediate restoration of the Union, but would also bring about the permanent settlement of the underlying race question.

Following these words, he proposed, as we have heretofore seen, his solution of emancipation and assisted colonization. Availing himself of the opportunity to discuss at length the principles involved and the means necessary to accomplish the much wished for purpose, he indulged in that most dangerous of mental experiments, a forecast of the wealth and population of the country for the coming century, for the purpose of at once presenting the magnitude of the evil and the adequacy of the national resources to effect its complete remedy.

His estimate of the future growth of the population of the country is only slightly in excess of the realized results, and is certainly a monument to his prophetic vision, when we take into consideration that he could not have foreseen the cruel check to the increase of population inflicted by the prolongation of the Civil War, which he sought by his projected plan to avoid.

He further portrayed the great advantages which would accrue to the white race by the elimination of the element of negro slavery, followed by the colonization of the negro population, which would leave the country free to develop itself upon purely Caucasian lines, and pointed out the benefits of at once relieving the white population from the evils resulting from the presence of the unassimilable race.

Finally, in concluding the discussion, he meets the fanciful objection urged at that time, that upon the wholesale eman-

cipation of the negro race it would not only fail to avail itself of his scheme for its colonization, but would pour into the North, and by the congestion there of a species of cheap labor inflict incalculable injuries upon that prosperous section of the country.

It is quite remarkable that in this discussion, and in meeting objections urged against his plan, Lincoln should not have foreseen the present difficulties in which the nation finds itself involved, yet singularly enough he does not even suggest the conferring of citizenship upon the negro, or consider any of the measures which have marked the endeavor of the black man's injudicious friends to place him upon an equality with the Caucasian race. Nowhere will there be found a suggestion of the possibility of the emancipated negro undergoing retrogression toward slavery, or the possibility of racial conflict arising out of his attempt to acquire social and political equality with the dominant white race.

In carefully discriminating language Lincoln indicates the financial saving to the nation which would result from the adoption of his plan, and throughout that portion of the message devoted to the discussion of the project, his language rises, in its prophetic character and in its realization of the difficulties and dangers of the situation, to the highest plane of natural eloquence.

But his arguments fell upon unheeding ears; the time was not ripe for the execution of his purpose; and it has devolved upon a later and better informed and equipped generation to discuss the ways and means for carrying Lincoln's plan into execution.

When, after four years of desperate war and the expenditure of untold blood and treasure, emancipation did come, the public mind had turned from colonization; a radically different trend of thought had succeeded, and the mistaken

policy of the past forty years was substituted for the colonization plan of the earlier statesmen of the country.

Is the foregoing plan indeed impracticable? It certainly is not an easy disposition of the question. On the contrary, it is an extremely difficult and expensive one. But it has the superlative merit of being radical, and when once put into effective operation will make a final disposition of the whole question.

Difficulty
of the
Proposed
Solution.

Desperate cases require desperate surgery, and the evil depicted in the foregoing pages is of such alarming and permanent proportions that it necessitates a remedy of a correspondingly heroic character.

Another consideration may be here noted. The present is certainly a most propitious time for the adoption of the proposed policy. The projected colonization of 1850 was premature. The wealth of the country was not at that time sufficient to carry out the project. The attitude of other nations would have been hostile. The methods of communication between countries, and the general development of trade and resources were not sufficiently advanced to justify the experiment. Above all, the African race had not received sufficient educational training and industrial development to qualify it for the assumption of the task of establishing a stable governmental organization.

The aspect of affairs, on the contrary, at the present time is exceedingly favorable. The resources of the country, as will hereafter be made to appear, are abundantly capable of carrying the proposed remedy to a successful conclusion. The past fifty years have been a period of preparation, and the coming decades which will be required to place the plan in effective operation will afford to the negro a sufficient chance for the development, under proper auspices, of the capacity essential to establish himself as an independent factor in the world's progress.

Further, unless this plan be promptly adopted and effectively placed in operation, the progress which the negro is making in the acquirement of land and personal property will render the problem one of increasing difficulty with each passing year. If wisdom should guide his counsels to the acceptance of the plan, with augmented intelligence would come both courage and ability to act for himself in establishing some new home for his people. On the other hand, it is to be feared, from our knowledge of his characteristics, that with the passage of time his disinclination to sever himself from his condition of dependency will increase, and the ultimate deterioration which his enemies predict would inevitably result.

Tremendous as the undertaking appears at the present time, and although a completely satisfactory conclusion may seem to be unattainable, the difficulties would gradually disappear were the task once commenced in earnest. The resources of the nation are adequate. The means for the accomplishment of the end are at our hand. The necessity is urgent, and all that is required is a spirit of generous assistance on the part of the educated and wealthy white race, a recognition of the necessity for this solution on the part of the negro, combined with the courage, foresight, and ambition to establish himself in a new environment, where under more favorable skies the destiny of his race may be achieved.

No greater opportunity ever opened itself to the leaders of a race than would lie before the chosen representatives of the American negro were the chance offered them to lead their people forth to some new land of promise, as of old the Israelites were led out of the house of Egyptian bondage into the newer and better land of Canaan lying so invitingly awaiting their occupation.

The project should appeal to the imagination, the interest,

the ambition, the pride, the philanthropy, the morality of the African race.

And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
That roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,
Wouldst thou not stir in this.

It is, after all, the obvious, practical, inspiriting solution of the problem, and once adopted and earnestly in good faith placed in operation, the wonder of the nation would be why its merits had been so long obscured.

Believing this to be the effectual remedy for the evil under discussion, it is purposed in the ensuing chapters to discuss the means by which the problem may be solved upon the principles announced; further, to anticipate and consider such objections as are likely to be presented to the proposed solution, and in conclusion to point out the beneficial effects which would necessarily flow from the adoption of the proposed remedy.

These latter would be by no means confined to any class, interest, or section of the country, but would inure to all, as well to the negro as to the country which has been for nearly three centuries his abiding place, but in which he has never succeeded in establishing himself upon a satisfactory basis, and in which at the present day his race is but an outlawed and disregarded element.

CHAPTER II

WAYS AND MEANS

Salus populi suprema lex est.

THE preceding chapter was devoted to the purpose of attempting to state clearly, and upon the lines advocated by Lincoln, the general outline of the plan which appears to the writer to be the only feasible method for bringing about a solution of the negro problem upon principles insuring future prosperity and harmonious relations between the races. As it is incumbent upon any one having the confidence to propose a method for accomplishing an undertaking of this importance to accept the obligation of pointing out how the projected solution may be carried into effect, that burden will now be assumed, and in the present chapter an effort will be made to set forth in some detail the measures deemed requisite and sufficient to produce the desired result. And here it may be repeated, that what is proposed does not necessarily embrace all that may be done to facilitate colonization, as many other methods will assuredly suggest themselves as experience develops the needs of the situation.

It will be noted that for the successful accomplishment of the task, two things are indispensable. First, a definite decision on the part of the ruling Caucasian race that the negro race is not qualified to form a constituent element of the citizenship of the nation, combined with the realization on the part of the members of the latter race that their opportunity

Two Indispensable Requisites of the Work.

for development can never be found in this country in association with the dominant Caucasian. Second, the adoption by the races of such co-operative measures as may place the negro in a location and amidst surroundings better adapted to enable him to enter upon an independent career of nationality.

Let us, then, consider the ways and means necessary to accomplish the first of these objects. It may be well to preface the discussion by saying that as the proposed plan is radical in its character, it will be necessary for its logical execution that it be carried out with strict and unswerving purpose, and that neither the white man nor the black man should shrink from any legitimate conclusion involved in the theory that the destinies of the two races are to be worked out by absolute separation.

On the part of the great majority of the people of this country—the white population—there must be a just appreciation of the magnitude of the problem, and a complete understanding of the principles at stake, involving, as they do, nothing less than the purification of our national citizenship and the re-establishment of the integrity of our political system; while on the part of the negro, in like manner, there must be the full recognition of the fact that the segregation of the races, although for the moment inflicting some unavoidable hardship upon his race, will ultimately result in placing within his reach opportunities for development, possibilities of progress, and instincts of independence impossible of acquirement under existing conditions. The negro must bring himself to the recognition of the wisdom of the plan, and must give to it his unreserved acceptance.

For the carrying into effect of the first general proposition of the plan outlined in the foregoing chapter, let us take up in order for consideration the different proposed measures

which logically follow from the adoption of the theory that the negro is disqualified by racial reasons from forming a part of the permanent citizenship of the nation.

Discussion
of the
Plan

I

(1) THE MODIFICATION OF THE FIRST SECTION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION SO AS TO PROVIDE THAT ALL PERSONS OF NEGRO BLOOD BORN AFTER THE YEAR 1925 SHALL BE EXCLUDED FROM NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP, AND IN THE MEAN TIME THE CONFERRING UPON EACH STATE OF THE PRESENT POWER OF REGULATION OF STATE CITIZENSHIP.

THE REPEAL OF THE SECOND SECTION OF THE SAME AMENDMENT, AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF A SIMPLE PROVISION BASING REPRESENTATION SOLELY UPON CITIZENSHIP.

It will immediately be seen that this involves a complete change of theory in regard to the question of the negro's qualification for citizenship. The Thirteenth Amendment, adopted shortly after the close of the Civil War, effected the abolition of slavery, but did not in itself confer citizenship upon the negro, either in the nation or in the state. The Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, not only conferred upon the negro the titular dignity of national citizenship, but sought to protect him in his newly acquired station by denying to the states the power to deprive him of the equal protection of the laws.

The experience of forty years has established the fact that the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment are insufficient for its intended purpose, and in the future, as in the past, it will prove in respect to the negro to be merely a paper promise, insufficient to overcome the effects of the disadvantage of race under which he labors.

This period having clearly made manifest that in no section of the country is he desired as a citizen, the modification of the amendment proposed, to the effect that no person of the African race born after the year 1925 shall be entitled to citizenship, will sufficiently effect the desired purpose, and will deprive no person of the race of the theoretical advantages of citizenship now enjoyed, during lifetime. If the question as to whether the persons of African blood now within the limits of the United States should have the inestimable gift of American citizenship conferred upon them were at the present time an original one, it is confidently asserted that there would be no question but that by a great majority that honor would be denied.

In a succeeding chapter the general question of American citizenship in its relation to the negro problem will be discussed, but for the present we may positively rely upon the assertion that a modification of the Fourteenth Amendment which, while not depriving any living person of citizenship, would establish a future date after which those born of African blood should not be entitled to participate in the government of this country, would meet in an enlightened community almost universal approbation.

There should be in a democracy no class of citizens deemed unworthy by reason of race to exercise the privilege of the franchise, and under the proposed modification all citizens would be qualified, subject to restrictions uniformly applicable, based upon sex, age, education, or other appropriate qualification.

It follows from this as an unforced conclusion that the further recommendation that the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment should be repealed ought to meet universal acceptance. Its retention in our Constitution is unworthy of the American people. Its adoption was opposed by the clearest thinkers of the wartime generation, including

No Dis-
franchised
Citizens.

Senator Sumner, upon the ground that its provisions are entirely repugnant to the theory of a federal republican government.

None of the communities constituting as states the component members of the great American Republic should be allowed to disfranchise American citizens, even at the price of accepting the penalty of loss of numbers in the computation of representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College. Further, this section has been shown to be incapable of enforcement, and remains simply as a blemish and an abnormality in our national organization. Its repeal, and the substitution of a simple provision basing representation upon citizenship, would do away with the present violation of the republican principle which is involved in allowing unrepresented citizens to enhance the political influence of those responsible for their disfranchisement.

(2) THE REPEAL OF ALL CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS AND OF ALL OTHER PROVISIONS OF LAW DESIGNED TO CONFER UPON THE NEGRO PRIVILEGES, OTHER THAN THOSE BASED UPON HIS INTRINSIC MERIT AND DEMONSTRATED SERVICE TO SOCIETY.

After the constitutional amendments were adopted, it was considered by the statesmen of the Sumner and Stevens school that something was still needed effectually to place the negro upon a plane of equality with the white race in the political and social life of the country. The statesmen especially interested in the promotion of his welfare were apprehensive that without other and stronger guarantees than the constitutional amendments the black man would not be enabled to reap the benefits and to obtain the advantages which they had sought by constitutional provisions to confer upon him.

To that end, and as a result of the unceasing efforts of

Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Congress adopted a measure commonly known as the Civil Rights Bill, which went into operation March 1, 1875, and of which the substantial feature is as follows:

· BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, that all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theatres and other places of public amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

Similar Civil Rights Acts were adopted at different times by many of the Northern States. The purpose, as plainly appears by these laws, which, in addition to provisions of the character above noted, contained a statement of the penalties denounced for violation of their provisions and remedies applicable for persons aggrieved, was to establish by law the practical social equality of the negro race with the white, and to enable the recently emancipated slaves to enjoy perfect equality in relation to all matters of a public or semi-public character.

But as such laws are invariably dependent for their effectiveness upon public opinion, and as this same public opinion is certain to penetrate even the consulting chambers of the highest courts, it has been found that in practice no valuable results have accrued to the negro from the adoption of these various Civil Rights Bills.

In the year 1883 there came before the United States Supreme Court what are known as the Civil Rights Cases (109 U. S., 3), in deciding which the highest court of the

nation held, in the various cases presenting the question in different aspects, that the first and second sections of the Civil Rights Bill were unconstitutional, as not being authorized either by the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and that, as the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory only upon the states, Congress was not authorized to enforce it through legislation as against individual action.

Space forbids a discussion of the principles involved in this and the subsequent decisions of the court upon various points presented by negro litigants under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments. It is sufficient for the purpose of this discussion to point out that the court has invariably held that the amendments, and the legislation of Congress under them, have been ineffectual to confer upon the negro the rights, privileges, and opportunities of social equality which he has so persistently sought to obtain.

At various times since the adoption of the amendments, state legislation forbidding the intermarriage of the races, providing separate schools for white and black children, authorizing the separation of the two races by railroad corporations engaged in the transportation of passengers (*Plessy vs. Ferguson*, 163 U. S., 537), and various other discriminations on the basis of race, have been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

In the state courts, in like manner, laws providing separate school accommodations for white and black children have been upheld (*People vs. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y., 438), and in the latest case arising under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments (*Hodges vs. United States*, 203 U. S., 1), the United States Supreme Court again took occasion so to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments as to reach the conclusion that the remedy of the negro for discrimination against him by individuals, based upon his

race or color, does not lie in an appeal to the United States courts, but that he must have recourse to the state tribunals vested with jurisdiction in such matters.

Throughout this long series of decisions adverse to the maintenance of the negro's civil rights under the amendments and the different acts of Congress, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court has consistently, but unavailingly, in repeated dissenting opinions given expression to the true and original purpose of the amendments and the laws framed thereunder, viz., to establish by force of the enactments of Congress the political and civil rights of the negro upon an equality with those of other citizens.

In his profound and illuminating work entitled, *Law, Its Origin, Growth, and Function*, the late James C. Carter of New York refers to these amendments and the laws enacted to secure their observance as signal illustrations of the futility of attempting to enforce by law a policy opposed to the customs, habits, and refined instincts of an intelligent and self-respecting people. He points out that the absolute failure of these enactments to accomplish their intended purpose operates as a warning to those impractical idealists who imagine that by some miraculous potency of a statute the negro may attain a position of social equality.

In a recent address at Chattanooga, Senator Foraker of Ohio in referring to this subject said:

It seems incredible that the government, that is all-powerful to accomplish the long list of splendid achievements that have been wrought at home and abroad, is yet, nevertheless, incapable of protecting at home, on our own soil, under our own flag, in the enjoyment of all their constitutional and political rights, our humblest citizens.

The United States is, indeed, powerful upon land and sea. It has in the past conducted successful and justifiable wars,

its financial resources are great, its army and navy renowned for efficiency, but the efforts of its government are futile when opposed to public opinion. All the fullest resources of the country, its treasury, its soldiers, its sailors, its ships, and indeed the combined armies and navies of the world, are incapable of enforcing the social equality of the negro race with the white, or of permanently establishing the political domination of the black man over the white man in the Southern States.

In like manner, in the various states, Civil Rights Laws designed to benefit the negro are systematically ignored by courts and juries. The sentiment of the community is opposed to them, unchangeably opposed to the attempt to establish social equality by provision of law, and in the course of the years little has been gained by the negro in his attempt to enforce these laws so unsustained by public opinion.

As a final and ridiculous example of this ill-advised legislation, we find the highest judicial tribunal of the state of New York, consisting of seven dignified judges, maintained at great expense by the people of that state, engaged in the earnest consideration of the important question whether or not an Italian bootblack may be compelled to add an additional lustre to the shoes of a negro, and gravely exonerating the shoe polisher from the necessity of performing his menial and disagreeable task, on the theory that a bootblackening stand is not to be regarded as a place of public accommodation for all persons regardless of race, creed, or color (*Burks vs. Basso*, 180 N. Y., 341).

While this unenforceable law would apparently give the negro equal facilities and privileges in restaurants and hotels, theatres, barber shops, and bath-houses, the learned court finds it necessary to draw the line at the humble office of bootblack.

Similarly, in Connecticut, the Supreme Court of that state in the case of Faulkner vs. Solazzi has recently upheld the action of a barber in refusing to shave a member of the negro race. Such trivial cases, when seriously considered, amount to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and clearly establish the necessity for a repeal of such belittling and ineffective statutes.

(3) THE ENACTMENT IN ALL THE STATES OF LAWS PROHIBITING THE INTERMARRIAGE OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO RACES.

The purpose underlying the adoption of Lincoln's plan for the absolute segregation of the races naturally involves the legal inhibition of the intermixture of the blood of the Caucasian and Negro races. It appears to be almost universally conceded that miscegenation should proceed no further. The writer does not remember in his reading to have found any student of the science of eugenics of the present day who has seriously questioned the fact that amalgamation of those races is undesirable. At times some negro essayist resents the attitude of the white race upon this subject, maintaining with accuracy that social equality involves the privilege of matrimonial union between black and white, but in practice such unions are rare and everywhere looked upon with disfavor.

By statutory enactment in all of the states in the South and in several in the North such marriages are forbidden, and the effect of the adoption of like provisions throughout the country would serve as an emphatic assertion of the purpose of the white man to establish and maintain that absolute racial purity essential to the highest development of the Caucasian race.

The provision forbidding intermarriage might well be supplemented by the imposition of stringent penalties against illicit unions between the races where public sentiment would sustain the enforcement of such enactments. Experience

has shown the grave difficulties attending the execution of laws of this character, and the suggestion is made in a tentative manner but in full belief that upon the adoption of the other features of the proposed plan, an educated public sentiment would compel the enactment of such laws and would actively co-operate in their enforcement.

(4) THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF IMMIGRATION OF PERSONS OF NEGRO BLOOD TO THIS COUNTRY.

This measure naturally follows as a corollary to the main proposition. If we are seeking by assisted emigration to eliminate the negro element from the citizenship of our country and to transport the members of that race to other regions, we cannot consistently allow immigration of negroes to continue, and should therefore adopt the same measures which are now in force in relation to Chinese and other undesirable immigrants, thus excluding all persons of African blood from the privilege of entering this country with the intention of making it their permanent residence.

It is not likely that this provision would greatly affect the question, and yet as there is annually an immigration of some thousands of negroes from South America and the West Indies, and probably also a considerable immigration over the Mexican border, in a matter of this supreme importance every precaution should be taken to lessen the magnitude of the task.

The adoption of the foregoing provisions would in itself fix the permanent status of the negro in the United States, and serve as a complete establishment of the proposition that his permanent abiding place is not to be found within our borders.

II

We are now confronted with the necessity of specifying the ways and means by which the peaceful removal of the

negro from the country may be accomplished. In the nature of things, it would be absurd to suppose that any one could foresee the result of the adoption of the proposed plan, or could in advance delineate in detail the different methods which may later be adopted for its execution. The following steps, however, appear to be well calculated to effect this most desirable object.

(1) THE ADOPTION OF A CAREFULLY DEVISED AND GENEROUSLY ASSISTED PLAN FOR THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION OF THE NEGRO RACE.

This broad purpose might be effected by offering liberal inducements to individuals, families, and communities to leave the United States and to establish themselves in other countries offering them greater opportunities for advancement and more favorable conditions for political independence.

As incident to this plan, the acquirement of one or more tracts of territory suitable for the purpose of colonization, and, if necessary and feasible, the assumption of a protectorate for that purpose over the Island of Hayti and perhaps Liberia, provided, of course, that the consent of those countries could be obtained, would be absolutely required. The important work of emigration could be most effectively carried on under the supervision and control of a Cabinet officer to be known as the Secretary of Emigration, whose duties should also include those now discharged by the Commissioner-General of Immigration in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

It will be noted that at present no suggestion is made as to any special place toward which such assisted emigration should be directed. That subject will be treated in a succeeding chapter. The important thing to be considered in the carrying out of a plan of this character is that it should be made as far as possible automatic and self-

executing, and that it should afford to the members of the negro race an opportunity easily, safely, and without especial difficulty to embark from this country and to establish themselves securely abroad.

In the first place, after sufficient funds were annually provided for the purpose, at certain of the ports of the country agencies of the Department of Emigration should be established, where, upon complying with certain simple provisions, any member of the negro race could obtain a fixed sum of money upon condition that he leave the shores of this land to return no more. Thousands of negroes would immediately take advantage of such a proposition and emigrate to Mexico, Cuba, South America, or other countries now offering them, in point of fact, more favorable opportunities than the United States.

Take the case of a Savannah negro, an ordinary laborer, engaged in no particular occupation,—and really as well circumstanced in one country as in another;—with the offer of an amount of money sufficient to establish himself in new surroundings, would he not gladly take his departure for Havana or Rio de Janeiro? Would not the negroes of Louisiana and Texas soon find superior advantages over the Mexican frontier? The offer of liberal inducements for emigration would, it is believed, soon bring about a considerable exodus of the floating and shiftless members of the negro race, certainly the ones whose departure would be considered no loss to any community.

Arrangements could easily be made for the transportation of persons seeking to take advantage of the liberal money provisions of the plan, and as experience would indicate the best measures to be pursued, the sluggish stream of African existence could readily be canalized into channels where, by virtue of the law of least resistance, a large portion

of the most undesirable element would be rapidly eliminated from the North and South.

But this method of individual elimination would form only a minor part of the plan. Only the merest skeleton can here be offered of what could be done by an opulent nation intent on the fulfilment of a project necessary for the preservation of a high grade of citizenship.

Several locations might be selected suitable to the needs of negroes in different conditions of life. Territory could readily be acquired, and communities transported upon a generous scale, provided for, and protected until thoroughly established in new homes. The guarantee of the United States Government would necessarily be given in every case to the effect that there would be no abandonment of the plan and no cessation of protection and control until every pledge was fulfilled and every emigrant thoroughly established in the enjoyment of peace and freedom and the opportunity of living in an independent commonwealth.

It certainly would not be an unbecoming sight to see a fleet of United States vessels engaged in the transportation of members of the negro race to their native soil of Africa, including, if you please, our warships and transports, which certainly could never display to the world a better indication of their usefulness to human society.

(2) THE APPROPRIATION BY CONGRESS OF SUCH SUMS OF MONEY AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THE FOREGOING PURPOSE, AFTER BEING AUTHORIZED BY AN AMENDMENT TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION FOR THAT PURPOSE.

At this point we approach what may be regarded as the vital point of the question, the hinge upon which turns the practicability or impracticability of the proposed plan. It will be conceded, even by those inclined to dispute the righteousness of Lincoln's plan, that with a sufficient expenditure of money the proposition for the

The Money Question.

emigration and colonization of the negro race, if supported by public sentiment, is easily practicable. The question that remains, therefore, comes finally to this: Are the American people willing to make the necessary sacrifice and expenditure of time, energy, and money, once and for all to rid their country of this admitted evil?

The writer is not unmindful of the fact that the suggestion which follows is likely to be regarded by many as the theory of a dreamer, and the scheme denounced by those having opposing interests as being absolutely impossible of execution. It may be such; but from his point of view, if the solution of the problem could be effected by the expenditure, within the next twenty-five or indeed fifty years, of the sums about to be mentioned, the remedy for the evil would be exceedingly economical and in every respect advantageous.

It is familiar knowledge that against every proposition for emigration and the establishment of a colonial refuge, the partial failure of the Liberian experiment will be urged as a precedent of non-success, and that the opponents of any plan for the removal of the race maintain that at this point the theory of colonization breaks down. The obvious answer is, that the establishment of Liberia as a sanctuary for freedmen before the war was never undertaken by the country as an official enterprise, and that the experiment was not made upon the generous lines made possible by the wealth of our government to-day, and never had the intelligent moral support of any influential part of the American people.

It may reverently be said that the situation as regards the proposed plan of colonization reminds one of the anecdote of the man who, having been asked if he believed in the practical working of the Christian religion, found refuge in the answer that he was unable to say, as he had never yet seen it tried.

There never has been a united effort to effect the solution of the negro problem upon the lines now presented. The bare statement that it is impossible to transport ten millions of American citizens and to settle them in prosperity in other lands has, in the past, appeared to be an all-sufficient answer to any proposal for deportation. Yet without careful consideration the project should not be so condemned. In a future chapter this objection will be met, discussed, and disposed of, by showing it to be entirely without foundation. At this point a concise statement of the financial methods to be adopted is certainly in order.

If the task had to be begun and completed within one, or five, or even ten years, it would certainly be of such herculean character as to discourage the most ardent spirit. But time is long, and the resources of the country are great; the work once begun, with each recurring year a property of easiness would be acquired in its management.

Suppose the nation should appropriate, under authority of a constitutional amendment such as Lincoln proposed for the purpose, the sum of one hundred million dollars, to be expended in the first year in execution of the plan. This sum would be something like one-twentieth of the public revenue of the country, less than one-eighth of the prospective annual expenditure of the National Government. It is assumed that the National Government would of necessity take upon itself the execution of the plan, as, while its operation might be aided by state action and individual donations, in the nature of the case federal control alone would be effective, and in no other way could a harmonious and concentrated effort be made.

The amount suggested would be but a trifle compared with the enormous wealth of the country, now something like one hundred and twenty billion of dollars, and could

annually be devoted to the purpose without the slightest hardship or a perceptible increase of taxation.

Each adult negro taking advantage of the provisions of the act should be supplied with the sum of five hundred dollars, and each infant under the age of eighteen be allowed two hundred dollars, to be paid upon embarkation from the country to any chosen destination. It can readily be seen that in case of families the amount provided would be more than the value of the property now possessed by 95 per cent. of the members of the negro race, and amply sufficient comfortably to establish the emigrants in their new surroundings. In the case of those few who possess property of their own, their means, of course, would be used to supplement the amount provided by the bounty of the government.

It should further be provided that no person upward of sixty years of age, and only those in good health, should be allowed to take advantage of this emigration bounty, and it might also be advisable to increase the amount to one thousand dollars in the cases of women between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. If this feature of the plan should result in a general acceptance, the amount for the succeeding years might be gradually increased to two hundred or even three hundred million dollars, and in conjunction with the other features herein proposed, it is believed that the project would soon become popular and the number of negroes in the country would rapidly diminish.

While this feature of the plan would, beyond doubt, in itself afford great relief by gradually draining away many of the less aspiring and intelligent negroes, it is to be regarded as subsidiary to the main project of the establishment of one or more colonies to which the other willing members of the race should be transferred. This could be effected by establishing lines of government vessels, sufficient for the

purpose, and to be increased as demands arose, between some of the Southern ports and such place or places as might be selected for colonization purposes. The amounts mentioned would be adequate for the transportation of individuals and families to some land of opportunity, and their maintenance there, under governmental protection and regulation, until sufficient time should elapse to enable them, through work and experience, to become self-supporting in their new surroundings.

The question will naturally be asked,—How long would it require under the plan presented to accomplish the removal of the negro race? Assuming that some small proportion would accept, as individuals, the provision of the government, and depart upon their own initiative, and that the great mass of the negroes would await some organized method for their colonization in Africa or elsewhere, what would be the expense of the enterprise and what period must elapse before it could be completed?

Let us, therefore, consider for a moment this phase of the proposed solution, premising by admitting that all calculations of cost or time of execution must be in some degree matters of speculation. We may begin by assuming that by some miraculous interposition the negro has been endowed with the present wisdom to realize the hopeless character of his efforts to achieve success in this country, and that, in like manner, the white race, in reciprocal recognition of this fact, is found to be willing to make adequate provision for his transportation to locations more favorable to his development.

Suppose, then, that in good faith, in kindly spirit and with concurring effort, the plan was adopted to go into practical operation January 1, 1909, with an annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 (about one-sixth of the present yearly revenue of the

Compu-
tation of
Time.

National Government), available for the purpose. Basing our calculations upon a present negro population of ten million persons, and accepting the census figures as to the present percentage of annual increase, we find that the natural augmentation of numbers for the year 1909 would be 175,000 persons. Now, the prohibition of negro immigration, the removal of all negro criminals, the employment of negroes on public works outside of the country, and the other minor features of the proposed plan, would doubtless reduce this increase to less than 150,000 per annum.

Remembering that only persons under sixty years of age and in healthful condition would be allowed to accept the provisions of the plan for colonization, and founding our estimate upon the proportion of adults and minors as disclosed by the census of 1900, then upon the proposed basis of five hundred dollars for an adult and two hundred dollars for a minor, the expenditure of the sum of three hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-three and one third cents for each person of the negro race would, in the average, it is believed, defray the expense of their colonization. In other words, the annual expenditure of \$100,000,000 would suffice to secure the removal of 300,000 negroes and their permanent establishment in more favorable regions of the earth.

On this basis the problem would be worked out in this way:

Population, January 1, 1909.....	10,000,000
Increase, 1909, at 1.5%.....	150,000
	<hr/>
	10,150,000
Number removed, 1909.....	300,000
	<hr/>
Population, January 1, 1910.....	9,850,000
Increase, 1910, at 1.5%.....	147,750
	<hr/>
	9,997,750
Number removed, 1910.....	300,000
	<hr/>

Population, January 1, 1911.....	9,697,750
Increase, 1911, at 1.5%.....	145,465
	9,843,215
Number removed, 1911.....	300,000
	9,543,215
Population, January 1, 1912.....	9,543,215

Pursuing this method of calculation, and for the sake of brevity omitting detailed figures, we find that the total negro population at the beginning of each year would be as follows:

1913.....	9,386,363	1917.....	8,735,278
1914.....	9,227,358	1918.....	8,565,306
1915.....	9,065,767	1919.....	8,393,785
1916.....	8,901,753		

It is apparent from this table that in ten years a decrease of upward of 1,600,000 would be effected. Continuing the calculation by a system of arithmetical progression, it readily follows that in a little over forty years the task would be completed.

Similarly, an expenditure of \$200,000,000 annually would, by a like method of computation, in about nineteen years bring about the same desirable result. This latter is probably as brief a period for the removal as the best interests of both races would allow for making the change, as considerable time would have to be devoted to the purpose, in order that business, labor interests, and other considerations of high importance might have time to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

Doubtless, were the plan once adopted and put into successful operation, its advantages would be so apparent that a more rapid efflux of the negro race would result. And as the migration would be largely of the younger and more fruitful elements of that people, the natural increase among those remaining would be much less than the percentage employed in the calculations.

In any event, there can be no question but what the future

revenues of the country will be amply sufficient to carry the project to a successful termination. Should at any time financial stringency occur, the credit of the government could be availed of by the issue of bonds temporarily to supply funds for so beneficent a purpose.

The statistics prepared by the Census Bureau in 1904¹ show that the average amount of property for each person in the country is approximately twelve hundred and fifty dollars, and as the interest-bearing debt of the country diminishes, and the amount necessary to pay pensions in like manner decreases in the forthcoming years, there would be no very great difficulty experienced in raising the amount of money necessary for the purpose.

Further than this, it has been recently proposed by President Roosevelt that for the replenishment of the Treasury in case of need, a tax might be imposed upon successions and a moderate income tax collected. Careful calculations show that an ordinary and moderate inheritance tax would produce a revenue of one hundred and fifty to two hundred million dollars per annum, sufficient in itself to give the proposition a fair trial.

Private benefaction might well supplement public provision. The possessors of the gigantic fortunes accumulated in the United States find increasing difficulties in securing favorable opportunities for the exercise of their charitable instincts. The work of educating the Southern negro would progress under more favorable conditions, and the fortunes of the Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Fields might well be devoted to this patriotic attempt to better the conditions of both races. The \$80,000,000 estate of the late Russell Sage, it is understood, is eventually to be devoted to eleemosynary purposes. That inheritance alone would, under

¹ Estimated True Value of Property, 1904, made by the Department of Commerce and Labor.

the proposed plan, suffice to transport the entire negro population of Kansas (52,003) to Liberia and to sustain it in that country for three years.

The difficulties attending the amendment of the Constitution of the United States so as to authorize the expenditure of public money for this purpose are not insuperable. Once the gravity of the problem is fairly understood, and public sentiment enlisted for its solution, mere paper barricades would offer but slight resistance.

Before concluding our discussion of the financial requirements of the plan, it may be enlightening to devote a brief glance to what our own and other nations have accomplished in this regard under stress of pressing necessities.

What
Other
Nations
Have
Done.

The great Napoleonic wars, from the day when the French Republic declared war against

England to the close of the Waterloo campaign, cost the latter country \$7,000,000,000. The Franco-Prussian War cost France \$2,000,000,000, in addition to the loss of her cherished provinces, but in the two years and three months from May, 1871, to August, 1873, she raised the German indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 to free her soil from the presence of the detested invader.

The English Government has now under consideration a measure providing for the expenditure from the imperial funds of \$900,000,000 under the Wyndham Land Purchase Law for the relief of the landless peasantry of the western counties of Ireland by the acquirement of grazing lands to be allotted for purposes of tillage.

Edward Atkinson, the eminent statistician, computed the direct expense to this nation of the late Civil War at \$6,000,000,000, and the indirect cost at \$8,000,000,000 more. We have already paid out over \$3,300,000,000 for pension claims arising out of that war caused by the presence of the

negro, and the end is not yet, as we continue to pay pensions at the rate of \$150,000,000 per year.

The expense of the Spanish-American War, substantially an offshoot of the negro problem, was \$335,000,000, with an increasing pension roll for future consideration. Even our recent occupation of the Island of Cuba, necessitated by the uprising of the blacks, will involve an expense of approximately \$10,000,000.

The United States Senate has under discussion a measure designed to provide for the improvement and development of the inland waterways of the country, carrying with it an appropriation of \$50,000,000, and contemplating the expenditure of \$100,000,000 per annum in the future. Admirable as is the purpose of this measure, its intrinsic importance is not to be compared with that of the plan for the deliverance of the country from the dangers and difficulties of the negro problem. Yet the projected expenditure of the sum mentioned excites no special comment.

In the face of figures like these, the moderate expenditure necessary forever to settle the negro question does not appear so formidable.

(3) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PENAL COLONY FOR THE NEGRO RACE IN SOME SUITABLE LOCALITY OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY, TO WHICH ALL NEGRO CRIMINALS SHOULD BE TRANSPORTED AND CARED FOR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MOST IMPROVED SYSTEM OF MODERN, SCIENTIFIC PENOLOGY, DIRECTED TOWARD THEIR REFORMATION.

The enemies of the negro allege his high degree of criminality as a conclusive proof of his natural inferiority and absolute incapacity to raise himself to a high standard of civilization. The question of negro criminality is indeed a grave one. Statistics presented in a preceding chapter establish the fact that throughout the country the negro race supplies at least three times more criminals than the

white in proportion to its present population. Of the ninety-two persons reported by the *Chicago Tribune* as having been executed for murder during 1908, forty-four were negroes.

To some slight extent statistics on this subject are probably misleading, but they serve to illustrate the actual criminality of the negro. Several reasons exist for this, but principally the fact that in the Southern States the negro accused of crime against a white person may be in general considered as good as convicted, especially when his conviction inures to the financial benefit of the state or county, by means of the infamous system of the letting of convicts prevailing in that section of the country.

Yet while the actual criminality of the negro may not be quite so alarming as appears by statistics, certainly it is discouragingly great. This arises from the fact that under the environment in which the negro exists, ordinarily poor, unprotected by law, ignorant, and irresponsible, his necessities impel him to the commission of those minor crimes which appear to him to be necessary to maintain his existence. And so we find that the greater proportion of negro crime consists of petty depredations against property and assaults upon the person, the natural results of the condition of poverty, ignorance, and intemperance in which the undisciplined negro is usually submerged. He cares but little for punishment, and the criminal negro released from confinement at once returns to his former habits, and as criminality breeds criminals, both white and black, his existence operates as a constant drawback and menace to the welfare of the community.

It would appear that there could be no reasonable objection raised to the plan of eliminating the criminal element among negroes by deportation, as above outlined. Certainly no state, North or South, should wish to retain the

worthless criminal element admittedly existing among negroes to-day, and assuredly no worthy, intelligent negro would interpose objection to the removal of the degraded members of his race to some salubrious prison colony, where reformation could be effected, and the convicts and their descendants established as a factor in the world's civilization and progress.

We have before us the example of England's penal colonies in Australia and Tasmania and those of France in Algeria, where under far less favorable circumstances great works of regeneration have been performed.

The practical effect of the removal of the negro criminal element would in itself go far toward bringing about the cessation of the increase of black population, as under this proposed provision it is likely that some twenty-five thousand convicts between fifteen and fifty years of age would be annually removed from the country, with the most beneficial results to all concerned. Such a penal colony, of course, should be established in connection with the larger colonial proposition, so that members of the former settlement, when sufficiently reformed, might be absorbed into the larger establishment.

(4) THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AT LIBERAL COMPENSATION AT PANAMA, IN CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND IN OTHER PLACES SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES, UPON ALL PUBLIC WORKS CARRIED ON OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY.

Nothing is written more clearly in the books of destiny than that the influence of this country is predestined to increase and to extend over the different islands and portions of the mainland of North America lying to the south of us, and that in the future our present control will ripen into acquisition and development. This great work throughout Central America and the West India Islands will, during

the coming decades, necessitate the employment, under the supervision of the United States, of many laborers in the construction of the Panama Canal, forts, and coaling stations, in police supervision, and a thousand other necessities of governmental action. Trained and untrained negroes should be taken from this country as far as possible for these services, with a distinct understanding that such employment involves permanent residence in the community to which they are to be assigned.

From present prospects, the work on the Panama Canal in itself will require the continuous employment of one hundred thousand able-bodied men for the next ten years, and if these were carefully selected at liberal pay from the negroes of Southern States and established with their families upon the Isthmus under the excellent sanitary conditions now existing, it would be not only a great step toward the solution of the labor problem of the South, but a signal proof of the devotion of the black man to service and of his capacity for doing something of real, permanent value in the world's work. This would be but the bringing about of the realization of ~~Lincoln's~~ project of 1865, confided to ~~General Butler~~, of establishing at Panama a negro colony to dig the canal, and incidentally to begin the work of the removal of the race according to the President's long-matured design.

Lincoln
.x.

(5) ULTIMATELY, AND IN THE IMPROBABLE EVENT OF ANY CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE NEGRO RACE BEING FOUND TO BE WILLING TO REMAIN IN THIS COUNTRY AND DESPICABLY TO DEGENERATE INTO A SERVILE STATE, AND SHOULD THE EXIGENCIES OF THE SITUATION DEMAND SUCH ACTION, THE REMOVAL, UNDER AUTHORITY OF LAW, OF SUCH PORTION TO A SUITABLE LOCALITY, THERE TO BE SEGREGATED FROM THE WHITE RACE AND TO BE GOVERNED, CARED FOR, AND PROTECTED AS WARDS OF THE NATION.

* See pp. 327-8

If the general plan should prove to be successful, and the co-operation of the white and black races in establishing the negro upon a new basis should result in the departure of the great majority from the country, it might be found necessary after the lapse of, say, some twenty-five years, if any considerable residuum failed to avail themselves of the provisions for assisted emigration, to require them, under the same terms, to leave the country.

It is not believed that this would ever be in any degree necessary. The negro is naturally docile, tractable, and submissive to authority, and after the majority of the race had been convinced that the project of colonization was indeed favorable to their development, and after by the efforts of the white people a generously assisted emigration had been placed in successful operation, and the negro had accustomed himself to the prospect of a change of country, it is not at all likely that there would be any serious objection offered to the consummation of the plan.

Should this, however, result and there remain an intractable residue to the permanent detriment of any portion of the nation, we have in the removal of the Indians from Georgia and North Carolina to the Indian Territory, which resulted favorably to them and favorably to the community from which they were taken, an admirable precedent for our action in resolutely, but in all generosity, requiring the departure of the remaining members of the negro race. It may be repeated that should the project prove successful, it would follow with unfailing certainty that no grave condition of this kind would arise. But *salus populi suprema lex est*, and in a great democratic community the fancied interests of the small minority must invariably give way to the real interests of the many, when those conflicting interests are found to be irreconcilable.

These are by no means all the measures which might be

outlined for the purpose of carrying into effect the project for the assisted emigration of the negro race. Those presented are enough, however, to indicate in a general way the lines upon which the problem may be solved, and the sincere endeavor has been made to infuse into the plan the spirit of equity and, indeed, of generosity in which it should be placed in execution. A duty not to be ignored or postponed rests to-day upon the white man and the black man alike,—the duty of taking measures to remedy the existing condition of affairs so detrimental to the welfare of both races.

Other Measures Possible. Other remedies have been crudely attempted, and, as hereinbefore pointed out, have not only failed of success but have left the problem more acute, more difficult of solution, and more threatening to the peace and welfare of our country than at any previous time since the close of the Civil War. It is but an idle boast for the people of the United States to point to the abolition of slavery unless they are prepared by the adoption of Lincoln's plan of assisted emigration to carry to fulfilment the work which he had undertaken.

The successful operation of the plan outlined would be certain if public sentiment were sufficiently cultivated, and accurate information disseminated throughout the country as to the real status of the problem and the necessity for its definite solution. This can be done only by the organization of societies to bring about public discussion of the question before the people of the United States, discussion not characterized by acrimonious contention as to where the blame for present conditions should be placed, or by dreary historical recitals of past occurrences; nor proceeding upon the futile theory of educational possibilities as a solvent of the problem; but inspired by the earnest, practical endeavor to bring the public mind to a realization of the fact that the

obvious solution, to wit, the removal of the cause of the difficulty, is the only possible termination of the trouble, and that this can readily be effected by the use of the ways and means at present available.

CHAPTER III

WHERE IS THE NEGRO TO GO?

The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African *nationality*. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own; and where am I to look for it? . . .

On the shores of Africa I see a republic—a republic formed of picked men, who, by energy and self-educating force have, in many cases, individually raised themselves above a condition of slavery. Having gone through a preparatory stage of feebleness, this republic has, at last, become an acknowledged nation on the face of the earth,—acknowledged by both France and England. There it is my wish to go, and find myself a people. . . .

In these days, a nation is born in a day. A nation starts, now, with all the great problems of republican life and civilization wrought out to its hand;—it has not to discover, but only to apply. Let us, then, all take hold together, with all our might, and see what we can do with this new enterprise, and the whole splendid continent of Africa opens before us and our children. *Our nation* shall roll the tide of civilization and Christianity across its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall be ours for all coming ages.—GEORGE HARRIS, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: 1852.

IMPRESSED as he was with the profound conviction that the solution of the negro problem lay in the direction of emancipation and subsequent colonization, Lincoln incidentally turned his attention toward the choice of a place where the race might be established and an opportunity opened for its independent development.

We find in his memorial address at Springfield in 1852, quoted at page 311, his suggestion that the ultimate redemp-

tion of the African race and the civilization of the African continent might in the inscrutable purposes of the great Ruler of events be effected through the evolutionary processes likely to follow the adoption of his plan. Likening our situation to that of the Egyptians under Pharaoh, cursed with the plagues and torments engendered by the presence of an alien and hostile race, his hope and prayer were that by early and judicious action great disaster to our people should be averted by an absolute sundering of its connection with the negro race.

His hopes in that respect were doomed to bitter disappointment, but, frustrated as they were, his faith in the desirability of colonization never waned. In address after address, in message after message, in letter after letter, in and out of season, he recurred to the opportunity afforded the negro to settle in Liberia, or elsewhere beyond the boundaries of the United States, and, undeterred by frequent disappointments, to the end maintained that in colonization rested the only hopeful future of the African race.

Upon the principle that if all that he sought could not be effected, and that if the larger project of Liberian colonization, so near to his heart, could not then be realized, a beginning might be made upon this continent, when entrusted with the pitiful sum of six hundred thousand dollars to undertake a six-hundred-million-dollar task, he endeavored to effect arrangements with South American republics to receive an exodus of colored freedmen, and did, in fact, succeed in establishing a small colony for that purpose on the Ile à Vâche, a small island under Haytian jurisdiction.

We have already discussed how circumstances placed the fulfilment of his wishes beyond his power, and how after his death the sweeping change of thought which for over forty years has carried us away from the true solution of the problem succeeded the more rational views entertained by

both white and black prior to the unfortunate attempt at reconstruction.

In its essentials, however, the problem remains unchanged, and, as before stated, the situation is now far more favorable

The Present Situation Favorable. to the proposed solution than it was when Lincoln's project was abandoned. Nearly all of the developments of the past forty-five years in science and material affairs have tended to favor the easier execution of the proposed plan, while a few changes have been to some degree unfavorable.

Of the first class, the increased facilities of transportation, as compared with 1865, tend to make the disposition of the problem much less onerous. The difficulties of embarkation and the perils of the sea have been greatly lessened by advances in steamship service, and any liberally arranged plan of deportation would encounter but little difficulty arising out of inadequate transportation.

The increase of wealth of the country has also lessened the proportions of the burden. In 1865 there were four and one half millions of negroes in the country, while the national wealth was computed at about sixteen billion dollars. Since that time, while the numbers of the race have slightly more than doubled, the wealth of the nation has increased sevenfold, and the white population has increased, largely through immigration, in much greater ratio than the black. In proportion to the magnitude of the task, the resources of the country are far greater than they were in Lincoln's day.

Advances, also, in sanitary science and in the knowledge of how to adapt emigration to the conditions of its new environment, together with the educational progress of the negro during the past forty-five years, industrially and otherwise, the gain in self-reliance which has come to him with the progress he has made, the national experience gained

in efforts for the amelioration of conditions in the Philippines and in the supervision of Cuba and Porto Rico, all tend to lessen the difficulty of the undertaking.

On the other hand, some developments have occurred unfavorable to the project of transporting and settling the negro people in any community outside of our country. The world has yearly been growing smaller, and with the increasing development of remote localities, and the nearly completed partition of the African continent among enterprising European nations, the question of selecting a locality adapted to the negro's needs and containing within itself the necessary elements of productive capacity, easy communication, salubrious climate, and opportunity for future expansion, makes the problem at the present time anything but easy of solution.

The area within which a colony of the negro race may be established without encountering the violence of race antipathy has become, and is daily becoming, much restricted, and if the existing opportunities are not immediately utilized, the passage of another fifty years will surely raise insurmountable obstacles to any concentrated and co-operating plan of this character.

And yet the world is very large. Take a terrestrial globe two feet in diameter, and the territory in this country now occupied by the negro, where he finds his present hampered and the future darkened by race antipathy, may easily be covered by the palm of the hand. The most casual inspection of an atlas will show millions of square miles of territory capable of sustaining a civilized population open to the negro for settlement, either individually or in colonizing communities.

And if it be said that the better portions of the earth's surface are already pre-empted, and that the black man must accept a position in countries of inferior soil or where climate

or other natural advantages are less favorable than those now occupied by the Caucasian, we can only answer that such is the penalty of belonging to a backward race. In some regards this world is like a great playhouse in which the first comers are naturally entitled to acquire the best seats, and belated individuals must be content to accept those of inferior location.

And yet this difference counts for but little under present conditions of trade and development, and in the future will count for even less. The reason why the temperate zone and the other more favorably productive regions of the globe have become the earliest seats of settlement and high civilization, is simply because under primitive conditions of life any country to be habitable must necessarily have the capacity to produce nearly all the elements essential to human existence,—timber, minerals, grass, fruits, and grains,—and also be possessed of easy means of communication with the rest of the world.

With the greater development of modern industry, a country of limited area and natural resources but possessing one desirable product is now in the fortunate situation of commanding toll from the entire world. The coal mines of England, combined with the freedom of her political institutions and the natural industrial capacity of her people, have given her pre-eminence in the world's shipping and commerce. The peculiarly fertile tobacco lands of Cuba, cultivated by an enlightened and industrious people, would soon render the island one of the richest communities in the world. The remarkable wine-producing capacity of certain limited districts in France enables their inhabitants to draw richly upon the resources of other civilized peoples.

One little island with its lake of asphalt commands the trade of the nations, and in like manner a copper mine or

Modern
Develop-
ments Fa-
vorable.

rich beds of guano enable the inhabitants of the country possessing them to exchange their one fortunate production for all other commodities of necessity and luxury existing in the world.

And thus of much of the unoccupied country which now is open for negro settlement. While perhaps many tracts are subject to general objection as being undeveloped, in the end they may prove so richly endowed by the blessings of nature that miracles of prosperity may be presented to our astonished observation. The development of this world's inexhaustible resources is yet in its beginning, and if the negro race desires to take an honorable part in the work of the centuries to come and to establish itself as a nation, with its own social, political, and industrial ideals, the enterprise cannot be long delayed.

The principles governing the general plan have been set forth in the preceding chapter. It is not proposed to confine assisted emigration to any particular section. On the contrary, it is rather believed that through natural selection, and by individual preference, the problem will to a great extent automatically work itself out. Perhaps under favorable circumstances a general emigration to African, Oriental, or South American lands might occur. The words of Milton aptly apply to the situation of the race:

The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

First, it is quite likely that individual emigration would in large measure bring about an adjustment of the difficulty. Under the plan presented, apart from the lessening of numbers effected by the banishment of the vicious and criminal element among negroes, and their employment as laborers upon the public works at liberal wages, it is very probable that numerous individuals and families would accept the

liberal terms suggested, and that through this means the situation would be greatly relieved.

Certainly, one cannot conceive of anything more advantageous for a family or six or eight persons than the acceptance of the two or three thousand dollars which the government under such circumstances would provide, and the taking up of their residence in Cuba, northern Mexico, or in any other community where race hostility and iron conditions of political hardship would not operate to repress their development. This would particularly inure to the benefit of those more enterprising and provident members of the race who have already accumulated some property by affording to them the opportunity of investing their savings in the development of some newer community without hazard of loss, and with the certain assurance of adding largely to their material prosperity.

Communities could, by combining their funds with the amounts allowed for emigration and establishment in new lands, almost insure from the beginning the prosperity of any considerable emigration movement, if the location to which it was directed were well chosen, and the movement itself energetically and intelligently conducted.

The objection may be interposed at this point that differences in language existing in nearly all the countries toward which this assisted emigration could readily be directed, would operate against the efficiency of the plan, but to this it may be answered that the negro has invariably shown himself to be an excellent linguist, and that certainly this disadvantage is no greater than that suffered by the thousands of immigrants daily pouring into our country, who, with their children, soon demonstrate their ability to master the language of their new habitation, finding it no serious obstacle to their prosperity.

Leaving for the moment the consideration of the general

plan, let us turn our attention to those points toward which the tide of negro emigration would most naturally be turned, and consider the advantages and disadvantages which different localities may present as a field of opportunity for the race.

Some thoughtful students of the problem have in the past, and even to the present time, entertained the belief that the negro might yet be established in separate localities in this country, carefully segregated from the white race. Such, indeed, is the proposition of Mr. John C. Reed, advanced in his work entitled *The Brothers' War*, where he urges the establishment of a separate state in the West for the negroes. He says:

Separation Here Im-possible. Put him in a state of his own on our continent; provide irrevocably in the organic law that all land and public service franchises be common property; give no political rights therein to those of any other race than the African; let this community while in a territorial condition, and also for a reasonable time after it has been admitted as a state, be faithfully superintended by the nation in order that republican government be there preserved.

Mr. Reed has shown himself to be an intelligent and dispassionate student of the causes which led to our Civil War; his aim is philanthropic,—but his plan is totally impracticable. He fails to point out where he would locate this negro state capable of sustaining ten, twelve, or fifteen million people, what would be its relation to the other states of the Union, and, above all, fails to discern that after his project had been fully placed in operation we should still have the negro problem, in a perhaps less aggravated form, upon our hands. It is barely possible that sufficient territory, at great expense, might be purchased in northern Mexico for this purpose, but certainly there are insuperable objections to

the erection of a negro state and its admission as a component member of the nation.

Even more Utopian is the plan recently advanced by the Reverend Washington Gladden in his essay upon the acuteness of the negro problem, viz.,—to set apart three or four of the Southern States for the exclusive use of the negro. Imagine for a moment the difficulties, indeed, the utter impossibility, of inducing the white inhabitants of any of those states to give to such a plan even a moment's consideration. To abandon their ancestral homes, the fields which they have cleared and cultivated, the plantations which have been their family property since the settlement of the country, the rich cities which have been established through their enterprise during the past century—to suggest these things is an answer to such a proposition.

Congressman John Sharp Williams suggests with grim humor that if this experiment is to be tried, Massachusetts and Iowa should be the states selected; and Governor Jeff Davis of Arkansas emphasized the futility of any endeavor to send the negro out of the South to any other section of the country when he pardoned the negro criminal on condition that he would make Boston his permanent residence. No, the solution of the problem, it may be reiterated, lies in the removal of the negro from the country.

It must be conceded that the difficulties attending the selection of the future habitation for ten million people, their transportation and establishment in such chosen locality, the guaranteeing of their freedom from undue hardship in transit, the overcoming of natural obstacles inevitably to be encountered, and their protection from the molestation of perhaps unfriendly neighbors, are of the most portentous character. Only a carefully regulated and an ably administered system would be effectual for the purpose.

**The
General
Plan.**

Such a plan would of necessity involve the framing of treaties with other powers having interests in the country to be selected, and the neutralization of any government which it was sought either to protect or to establish for the purpose of affording the negro a sanctuary. This being accomplished, and the proper precautions taken to insure the safety of those entering upon the enterprise, by the expenditure of sufficiently liberal sums, as detailed in the preceding chapter, whole communities, with their churches, schools, and other institutions, might in the course of a few years be transported to such parts of the selected country as should be determined upon after examination and by prearrangement.

Such a project could never be allowed to be merely a feeble experiment, predestined to failure for lack of forethought in plan, or of determined resolution in carrying it out. On the contrary, it would have to be begun, continued, and completed as a carefully planned, courageously and efficiently executed movement, accompanied by such careful governmental guarantees that the black man, wherever he went under the protection of his government, be it to Africa, to Asia, or to the islands of the sea, would have at all times and under all conditions the continuing support of this country for his safety and protection, until time was afforded him to adjust himself to his new environment. Is this too much to ask? It is not an easy method of extrication, but it is feasible, and above all certain in its results.

In considering the locality to which emigration of the negroes would most naturally tend, we are at once attracted by the admirable adaptation of the Spanish-American communities lying to the southward of this country. There is but little manifestation of race antipathy toward the negro in those countries, and honest, intelligent negroes with means to buy land would be generally welcomed. Mexico could

find room for many, Central America offers a congenial field for them, and Brazil and other South American countries would extend a hearty reception to workers of thrifty character who came provided with sufficient funds to establish themselves firmly in new homes.

In Cuba nearly one-half of the population is of negro blood, and while present appearances presage the growth of a spirit of race discrimination there, the influx of a few thousands of the better class of American negroes, re-enforced by their accumulated capital, would go far to restore the prosperity of the island and to postpone any outbreak of racial strife. None of these countries affords much opportunity for the establishment of large colonies, but each of them could receive many thousands of our surplus negroes to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

But there is a field for colonization upon a large scale, lying close at our hand, which, if utilized for the purpose, would at once afford a refuge for millions of our black citizens, whose intelligent efforts might remedy a condition of affairs which for upward of a century has been a standing reproach to the capacity for government of their race.

But a few miles from our shores, close upon the great highways of commerce, lies the marvellously fertile island of Hayti, containing the two negro republics, Hayti and San Domingo. Embracing an area of some thirty thousand square miles, with a climate of unsurpassed salubrity, marvellous agricultural resources, and valuable mineral deposits, this island is assuredly one of the most favored spots on the face of creation. Those familiar with its physical aspects and its productive capacities find it difficult to exaggerate its great possibilities for the support of an industrious and enlightened people.

And yet the record of this island for the last one hundred

years is a dark blot upon the history of the African race. Here, in the year 1804, occurred the only instance known in history of the black man arising against his master, emancipating himself from the shackles of slavery, and establishing an independent government. And yet from the day of its birth as an independent nation, the history of this island has been but one continued story of riot and revolution, bloodshed, poverty, and retrogression, until to-day Hayti stands an apparent demonstration of the incapacity of the African race for the establishment and maintenance of civilized government. Continually vexed with internecine quarrels and harassed by claims of foreign creditors, cursed by revolutions and impoverished by the exactions of the tax-gatherer, Hayti has for over a century drifted from one excess to another, a very derelict among the nations.

Yet we must not judge the capacity of the negro too hastily. The self-liberated slaves of 1804 were entirely without education or training in the conduct of affairs, and from the very inception of this unfortunate government there never has been a sufficiently skilled administration of its concerns to enable the people to obtain that material development which must lie at the foundation of all political progress. The mere fact that a negro state so inauspiciously established has been able to maintain its political independence for over a century certainly argues something for the capacity for political development of the African race.

This rich island has not escaped the notice of the civilized world, but, while under the beneficent operation of the Monroe Doctrine no European power has ever attempted to assail its autonomy, its isolation has kept it in a condition of arrested development. The one opportunity of the island to gain the aid and protection of the United States was thwarted when in 1870 the United States Senate refused to confirm the treaty of annexation negotiated by President

Grant with the then controlling authorities of San Domingo.

In discussing the failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty which he had negotiated for the annexation of San Domingo, President Grant said in his second annual message, December, 1870:

I was thoroughly convinced then that the best interests of the country, commercially and materially, demanded the ratification of the treaty. Time has only confirmed me in this view. The government of San Domingo has voluntarily sought this annexation. It is a weak power, numbering probably less than 1,200,000 souls, and yet possessing one of the richest territories under the sun, capable of supporting a population of ten million people in luxury. The people of San Domingo are not capable of maintaining themselves in their present condition, and must look for outside support. They yearn for the protection of our laws and institutions, our progress and civilization.

Should we refuse them? The acquisition of San Domingo is desirable on account of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, best and most capacious harbor, the most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of the mines, soil and forest of any of the West India Islands. In case of foreign war it will give us command of the islands referred to, and thus prevent an enemy from ever again possessing himself of a rendezvous on our very coast.

At present our coast trade between the states bordering on the Atlantic and those bordering on the Gulf of Mexico is cut into by the Bahamas and the Antilles. Twice we must, as it were, pass through foreign countries to get by sea from Georgia to the west coast of Florida.

In urging the annexation of San Domingo, President Grant established his standing as a far-seeing statesman,

eclipsing by contrast the self-sufficient, but myopic, members of the Senate, who under spiteful leadership defeated the annexation project and deferred the development of the island for probably half a century.

After many financial disasters, the San Domingo portion of the island some two years ago entered into an agreement with this country whereby the foreign indebtedness of the republic may be paid without subjecting its custom houses to the control of its European creditors. In pursuance of the duty imposed by the Monroe Doctrine, the United States has assumed a position of trusteeship, and has taken upon itself the burden of assuring to the creditors of the little republic the payment of their claims, and for its guarantee has substantially impounded the revenues of the country. Doubtless this is but another step in the development of that gradual process of supervision and control which will in the near future bring into the possession and protection of our country the fertile and beautiful islands lying northward of the Caribbean Sea.

Hayti and San Domingo offer unusual inducements to the negro. Whatever race prejudice exists in this island is entirely in his favor. In the two republics white men are excluded from citizenship, and opportunities for black immigrants are of the most favorable character. What is needed to develop this island is the incoming of an intelligent, industrious people, qualified to carry on the needed work of agriculture and commerce.

The island offers to bona fide settlers a plentiful supply of good, cheap land, suitable for growing coffee, cacao, tobacco, and many of the other staple necessities of life. One range of timbered mountains 150 miles in length, and another of about 60 miles, are reported to be full of undeveloped mineral deposits, including gold, copper, and tin. Those familiar with the country say that there is scarcely a foot

of its territory but what may, under proper cultivation and operation, be made a source of prosperous revenue.

To this island assisted emigration could, with little difficulty and without great expense, transport one, two, or three million of willing negroes, and not only could material prosperity be brought to the emigrants, but the genius of the race for governmental purposes could be once and for all established. Imagine, if you please, that number of black people from the South transported to this island at the expense of the United States Government, supplied with funds ample to secure for them a sufficient amount of fertile soil adapted to the cultivation of its products, the transplanting of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, the common school system established and liberally supported, churches organized, and American ideas introduced,—what a regeneration of the island would follow! The opportunity lies before the negro men and women of the United States. Will they avail themselves of it?

Numerous as are the opportunities for assisted emigration in the West Indies, and upon the continent southward of the United States, favorable alike to independent enterprise and the colonization of communities under the sheltering ægis of the American flag, the negro is by no means limited in his choice to portions of this continent. The twofold object of the suggested solution, viz., the deliverance of our country from the ills attendant upon the presence of the negro race, and the establishment of that people in some more favoring land under conditions affording it opportunities for development, can be attained only by the selection of some territory eminently adapted to be the permanent abode of all persons of African blood.

Where, then, shall we focus our efforts to establish the negro? Our thoughts immediately turn to Africa, the natural

**Africa as a
Refuge for
the Negro.**

home of the negro race, and the continent where now reside nine-tenths of the people of that ethnic stock. Until after the emancipation of the race by the Civil War the idea was never generally entertained that its members were to become a permanent element of the population of this country. On the contrary, it was always assumed that in the event of manumission the negroes would gladly return to Africa. Throughout the story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, every aspiration of the negro for freedom is accompanied by the desire to return to the land of his ancestors, and the book closes with a general invitation on the part of the principal characters to the members of their race to make colonization their aim and Africa their field of work in the future.

Notwithstanding what may be alleged to the contrary, the climate, the soil, and the character of the productions of that continent are eminently favorable to the improvement of the negro race. It has been for untold generations the home of that people, and no one who has given the matter consideration, and especially who has observed some of the physical specimens developed in that country amidst unfavorable conditions, can give assent to the proposition that the living conditions of the African continent would lead to any deterioration of the racial physique. It is an error to assume that the country of the negro's forefathers is one not to be desired, or that for any reason it is unfitted for the habitation of civilized man.

While President Booker T. Washington's ten millions of advanced negroes stand aloof in timid hesitation about returning to the land of their forefathers, English, French, German, Italian, and Belgian immigrants are eagerly crowding into its rich fields of opportunity, and soon, if the present movement continues, the continent of Africa will be parcelled out into divisions absolutely controlled by the greater Euro-

pean powers, and there will be no opportunity for the negro to establish an independent state.

From north and south England eagerly presses her land-acquiring policy; on the northwest France is extending her boundaries southward; Germany has pre-empted a huge cantle of fertile East African soil; little Belgium is for the moment successful in her scheming for control of the great resources of the Congo Valley, and Italy and Portugal are endeavoring to secure their fair share in the general allotment of the continent. Within two or three years the Cape to Cairo railway will be opened and Pullman palace cars will run from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, while the Congo Valley railway will make connection with the main line from the west. Steamboats are now plying upon the great lakes of the interior and the upper waters of the Congo, and the journey across the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean may be made by steamboat and railroad. The present half-century will see Africa's exhaustless storehouse of wealth opened to the civilized world.

The negro's opportunity exists to-day; within a few years it will have passed away never to return. As an illustration of the tendency of the times and of the growing appreciation with which this valuable territory is regarded, attention is particularly called to the rapid settlement now going on in what is known as German East Africa, a possession embracing a large tract south of the Equator on the eastern coast of the African continent, in the same parallel of latitude as the Congo Free State.

There has recently appeared a work upon the development of German interests in that region, by Dr. Hermann Paasche, Vice-President of the German Reichstag, who spent some months in German East Africa making a study of the progress of the German community now being established on that coast. He reports that there is room for hundreds of

thousands of German farmers in that section, describing the products of the country as being rich and varied, and mentioning especially the rubber plantations established by the German immigrants, covering 45,000 acres, which bid fair in a few years to contribute an important addition to the rubber product of the world. A careful observer and an accurate student of the possibilities of this section, he comes to the conclusion that healthful climatic conditions exist, especially in the highlands, where a comparatively temperate climate prevails. If, as appears to be the case, without assistance, colonists from Germany can establish themselves in this fruitful country and build up a valuable industrial community, should not like prospects appeal to the American negro, who certainly has much stronger inducement to quit this country for a more favorable climate than the German emigrant to abandon his fatherland?

It is impossible to undertake to discuss within the limits of this chapter all the localities upon the African continent open to settlement by courageous and industrious negroes. A brief description of two which seem especially favorable at the present time will suffice to establish the proposition that the project of colonization presents no insuperable difficulties.

The Congo Free State lies in the interior of Africa, south of the Equator, embracing an area of from 850,000 to 900,000 square miles, approximately the extent of the United States east of the Mississippi River.

It is a rich, well watered country, with a tropical but not unhealthful climate. Especially is this the fact in the interior, which is a high tableland, well watered by the Congo and its tributaries, affording it easy access to the sea. It is a country of rare fertility and of tremendous capacity for the production of tropical commodities, especially of rubber, of which it promises to be the greatest producing

territory in the world. The variety of plants from which India-rubber is obtained in the Congo basin is said to be greater than anywhere else on the globe, and the quality of the rubber product is unexcelled. The rubber industry is rapidly becoming one of the leading commercial interests in modern life, and the production of this article, together with the other bountiful gifts of nature existing throughout this favored locality, is making it a territory sought by all the capitalists of the world for industrial development.

It was, as its title indicates, intended to be a free African state, and in the words of Mr. C. F. Stoddard, who has recently returned from an extensive exploring trip of the region, "the mining, agricultural and lumbering possibilities of the state are enormous, and, properly handled, must become important factors in the commerce of the world."

The population is variously estimated at from twenty to thirty millions, principally of the purer African types, there being but few white men domiciled within its borders. Many of the natives are somewhat advanced in the arts of civilization, but the vast majority are in a condition of savagery and impoverishment but little removed from slavery.

This rich country is unrestrictedly open for settlement and development, and offers very favorable opportunities for organized effort upon the part of the United States to assist African emigration. It is the country from which the ancestors of many of the negro people now in this land were forcibly taken, and which should always remain open for their descendants desiring to return there in peace. Emigration from America would be welcomed, and newcomers might establish themselves without interference from any source.

The emancipated negroes in the United States, of whom President Booker T. Washington truthfully says, "there cannot be found in the civilized or uncivilized world a like

number of negroes whose economic, educational, moral and religious life is so advanced as that of the ten million negroes within this country," are in reality exiles from their natural home, through the operations of the slave-trade in which Great Britain and this country were the active participants, and they, as well as the civilized world, should recognize that they have a moral and political right, indeed, an undying interest, in securing a home in the continent which must always be regarded as their fatherland.

To this there seems to be at present but one growing obstacle. By virtue of the international conference upon African affairs held in Berlin in 1885, the assembled powers adopted certain regulations for the securing of peace, independence, and prosperity to the people of the Congo Free State. The United States participated, and gave its assent to the conclusions of the conference, and has at all times the right, and is under the obligation of duty, to interpose to see that the liberties, benefits, and advantages of the regulations established by the conference are secured to the people of the Free State of the Congo.

The general administration of this rich territory, by some strange misadventure, was confided to King Leopold of Belgium, and the world knows with what absolute disregard, not merely of the plainest principles of enlightened government, but of the common dictates of humanity, he has conducted for his own personal gain the administration of that unfortunate community. Leopold was never legally constituted a sovereign of the Congo Free State, nor given anything more than a general power of guardianship over its people. He has prostituted his trust for his own advantage, and without scruple has neglected the duties imposed upon him, and countenanced atrocities committed for his financial benefit. As a result of the combined protests of the civilized

nations King Leopold has at last abdicated the quasi-sovereignty which he assumed to exercise over the Congo Free State, and the Kingdom of Belgium has through the supine attitude of this country and the great European powers been allowed to go through the form of annexation of this vast tract of territory. Hereafter, and until a more enlightened theory of world politics in relation to the control of African affairs is developed, this puny kingdom, scarcely able to maintain its own independent national existence, will in form at least be permitted to shape the destinies of the Congo region.

Belgian control will, however, be only nominal, as the great powers cannot so easily relinquish their trusteeship, and will be compelled by public opinion to hold that nation to a strict accountability as to the manner in which it may choose to rule this dependent territory. A return to the tyrannous practices of the greedy King Leopold will never be permitted. The contemplated reforms in the administration of the Congo Free State will be insisted upon, especially by Great Britain and the United States, and nothing would more effectually operate to enlist the interest and sympathy of the civilized world in the regeneration of the natives than the introduction of a considerable element of industrious American negroes trained in the methods of Hampton and Tuskegee.

In any event, the civilized nations of Europe and the United States will still control the destinies of the Congo Free State, and exercise a guardianship over its affairs. This country, in the plenitude of its strength and actuated by the humane motives which characterize its people, should co-operate with the other civilized nations in resuming effective control, and, after first remedying the abuses which have shocked the moral sense of the world, should follow by securing for the negro people of this country opportunity

to return to the land whence their fathers came, rendering to those desiring to go the assistance necessary to enable them to take advantage of the magnificent opportunities for development existing in that favored region.

The educated and intelligent negro who aspires to leadership of his people should regard the opportunity afforded them to settle in the Congo Free State at once as a duty to the higher interests of the race and as a privilege of the rarest character. Present conditions indicate that the mutual jealousy of the greater European powers which has resulted in the little Kingdom of Belgium acquiring complete control of this tract so richly endowed by bounteous nature will not indefinitely continue. While a petty European government takes possession of their birthright, ten million American negroes impatiently endure disfranchisement, ostracism, "Jim Crow" cars, and all the whips and scorns of time, awaiting leadership of intelligence and courage to conduct them into this field of golden opportunity.

What may be done by trained and scientific negroes for the regeneration of this Congo country is well illustrated by the following extract from a recent address of President Booker T. Washington:

Some six years ago a group of Tuskegee graduates and former students went to Africa for the purpose of giving the natives in a certain territory of West Africa training in methods of raising American cotton. They did not go there primarily as missionaries, nor was their chief end the conversion of those pagans to Christianity. Naturally, they began their work by training the natives how to cultivate their land differently, how to plant the crop and when to harvest it, and gradually taught them how to use a small hand gin in getting the cotton ready for market.

Largely through the leadership of this group of Tuskegee

**Opportu-
nities for
Negro
Leadership.**

students, there is shipped from this section of Africa to the Berlin markets each year many bales of cotton. The natives have learned, through the teachings of these men, to grow more cotton and better cotton. They have learned to use their time, have learned that by working systematically and regularly they can increase their income and thus add to their independence and supply their wants. Not only this, but in order that these people might be fitted for continuous and regular service in the cotton fields, their houses have been improved, and the natives have been taught how to take better care of their bodies.

In a word, during the years that these Tuskegee people have been in the community they have improved the entire economic, industrial, and physical life of the people in this immediate territory. The result is, as one man stated when on his last visit to Tuskegee, that there is little difficulty now in getting the children of these people to attend Sunday School, and the older people to attend church; in fact, in a natural, logical manner they have been converted to the idea that the religion practised by the Tuskegee men is superior to their own. They believe this firmly, because they have seen that better results have been produced when they work under the Christian influence of these Tuskegee men than had been produced when they had no such leadership. If these Tuskegee people had gone there as missionaries of the old type and had confined themselves to the abstract teachings of the Bible alone, in my opinion, it would have required many years to have brought about the results which have been attained within a few years.

Surely the negro has in this African land of possibilities a field which offers opportunities to him such as never can be found in his present surroundings in the United States. But while the Congo Free State is admirably suited for colonization purposes and the resultant progress toward the advantageous settlement of the problem, it is by no

means the only section of this rich African continent where the negro may find an asylum from oppression and a favorable opportunity for promoting his material interests.

Liberia offers even better immediate prospects for the negro's return to the land of his forefathers. Here is in existence a well established independent African republic, open to the immigration of all members of the race, where they are cordially welcomed and immediately admitted to participation in the government of the country. Adequately to present the inducements which this territory offers to the aspiring negro would require chapters of this work. There he would find not only natural resources from which he could obtain an early reward for his industry, bounded only by the limits of his enterprise, ability, and application, but as a foundation for permanent success he would enter a well organized community possessing a language and governmental system with which he is already familiar.

Let us briefly consider the history and resources of this country, which for nearly a century has been maintained as a distinctively African state.

Liberia lies upon the southwest coast of Africa, a few degrees north of the Equator, and about the same distance from the Atlantic ports of this country as the British Isles. It embraces some forty-three to forty-five thousand square miles of territory, being thus about the area of the state of Pennsylvania. The population is variously estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000, divided into three classes:— (1) The immigrants from America and their descendants, forming the intelligent governing class, and numbering about 12,000 souls. (2) The civilized natives, who participate in the government and have embraced the Christian religion, to the number of about 40,000. (3) The native and uncivilized negro tribes, Mandingos and others, comprising the

remainder of the population. These latter, while not of a very high grade of present advancement in civilization, are of a superior type of native negro character.

The country itself is rich in natural resources, and excepting upon some portions of the coast, the climate is far from being unhealthful. Even under prevailing unsanitary conditions, the natives display conditions of excellent physical development, and after acclimation immigrants maintain an average of health at least as good as that of the negroes in this country.

Sir Harry Johnston, G.C., M.G., K.C.B., a distinguished English traveller and explorer, has made in recent years an exhaustive study of the geography and resources of the country, its flora and fauna, its people, languages, and climatic conditions. The results of his investigation are embodied in two large, handsomely illustrated volumes, published in 1906, entitled *Liberia*. From this work it abundantly appears that the country has remarkable fertility and is admirably adapted to sustain a large population. Properly tilled and cultivated, drained and cleared, he says it would support a population of twenty millions. If the numerous photographs taken by the eminent author, and presented in his work, correctly represent their subjects, there need be no apprehension as to the capacity of Liberia to produce fine physical specimens of the human family.

Its forests contain valuable timbers; the world produces no better rubber, dye-woods, and ivory; the yellow palm is abundant, and coffee and cotton return excellent crops when intelligently cultivated. Sir Harry has nothing but praise for the resources of the soil, and says the recent progress of the country is not to be despised, as its negro administrators have proved their capacity for self-government. "Let us," he says, "claim for Liberia at least another half-century of

trial before the world in congress pronounces decisively upon the success or failure of the experiment."

In this experiment the negroes of the United States should be vitally interested. Established in 1816 by the American Colonization Society as a refuge for freedmen from America, without official assistance of any kind in surmounting the tremendous difficulties of early settlement,—certainly those who out of such small beginnings have wrought such enduring results should be an inspiration to the members of their own race in their efforts to establish an orderly and prosperous republic where the negro may show, under his own government, of what he is capable in the way of civilization. If, in the last century, a few devoted negroes, with but little assistance, under such discouraging circumstances, have succeeded in establishing and maintaining an independent negro government on the shores of Africa, who can estimate the effect upon this colony of an influx, within the next two decades, of two or three million of enterprising, industrious, and to some extent trained and educated American negroes, bringing with them hundreds of millions of dollars in resources and the protection of the strongest, richest, and most enlightened government on the face of the earth?

If such an opportunity offered to the negro to establish himself in a country of this character would not induce him to take a chance in the world, to make a display of the manhood and womanhood of the race, to encourage his well wishers and to silence his detractors, then we must indeed be forced to the conclusion that he deems himself wanting in those qualities of order, ability, and patriotism necessary for the maintenance of a self-governing state.

Further, the United States is definitely enlisted in the prosperity and development of Liberia. It is, as the late ex-President Grover Cleveland said in referring to it in one of his official messages to Congress, an offshoot of our

American system. It represents the outcome of a spirit of devoted effort to advance the prosperity of the African people, and for this country to allow this advance post of negro civilization and independence, established under these circumstances, to be abandoned, and its territory to be appropriated by other nations, would be virtually a confession on our part of the utter futility of any effort to advance the condition of the negro race.

The seal of Liberia bears as its motto: "THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE." Does the American negro

really desire liberty? Is he not, as a matter of stern reality, better satisfied protestingly to remain in this country as a subject and subordinate race than to encounter the trials and hazards incident to the attempt to better his fortunes in Africa or elsewhere? On the answer to these questions depends the proper solution of the problem under discussion.

Africa invites her children to return. In her forests and mines, upon her grassy plateaus and fertile hill slopes, down her broad rivers and across her gleaming lakes, the world will be called upon to witness the most marvellous transformation of the twentieth century. Railroad construction and steamer traffic extension will soon bring her remotest corners into touch with the civilized world. Modern engineering, the increased employment of electricity, and the use of improved agricultural machinery will utilize the riches of her forests and develop the resources of her teeming soil.

The advances in medical science, improved methods of sanitation, and more carefully supervised hygienic conditions will extirpate causes of disease, promote comfort, and insure such beneficent results as have followed the sanitary regulation of the Panama Canal zone. The native races will be presented with the alternative of submitting to the require-

Does
the Negro
Desire
Liberty?

ments of civilization or ceasing to exist, as enlightened opinion will not tolerate the continuance of their present condition of savagery tempered by slavery. In a word, the age-long problem of the material and intellectual regeneration of Africa is on for solution. What part is the American negro to play in this tremendous drama?

What this important conjuncture in the history of the negro race demands is leadership. Here lies the opportunity for some exalted spirit to rise to the height of the great argument and to assume the position of adviser and director of his people. The representative of the negro men and women in this country who could induce the willing, but timid and uninstructed members of his people, to abandon the hopeless effort to achieve the impossible, and by accepting the policy of assisted emigration to correct the mistakes of the centuries, would secure for himself high position in the permanent Hall of Fame. With Moses, Charlemagne, William the Silent, Washington, Bolivar, and Garibaldi, his rank among the great figures of history, heroes of the nations, benefactors of mankind, would be assured.

For, if the negro loves freedom, seeks liberty, and yearns for social equality, in this way and in no other may they be acquired. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." Through the past ages of the martyrdom of man the blow required was physical; the effort for freedom must be made with arms in hand against the tyrant's power. With the American negro at the present hour the needed effort is one of moral and spiritual quality. Emancipation from physical slavery did but little for him if his mind remains in intellectual bondage.

To secure the blessings of liberty, education, and equality denied him in this country, the negro needs but the weapons of courage, fortitude, strength, and tenacity of purpose, and, in addition, the possession of that spiritual discernment which

will enable him to look beyond the dangers and difficulties of his present situation, and clearly to perceive in mental vision the possibilities awaiting his race in the African Fatherland.

CHAPTER IV

OBJECTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.

Measure for Measure.

DOUBTLESS Lincoln found objectors to his plan of compensated emancipation followed by colonization. We have no record of any of his discussions upon the subject except the one with General Butler already quoted, but beyond question in his consultations with intimate friends, perhaps with Seward, Chase, and Montgomery Blair, objections to the project, as impracticable on account of expense or for other reasons, were presented. None of these, however, appears to have shaken his faith in the feasibility of the proposition.

Objections there are, of course—objections of sentiment, objections of interest, objections of ignorance, objections of mere inertia. Did none of these exist, the plan of Lincoln would have been long since adopted and executed, and the country would to-day be rejoicing in the result of the solution of the problem.

The principal objections likely to be urged in opposition to the adoption of any radical and far-reaching solution of the negro problem are those originating in the lack of understanding of the momentous character of the question involved, and in the natural inertia of a people engrossed in the pursuit of their individual enterprises, and entirely oblivious to the

present necessity of adopting a concerted policy in regard to the future of the negro race.

Further than this, as the proposed plan involves a complete change of thought in regard to the question from that hitherto prevailing either in the North or in the South, it is not to be expected that it will fail to encounter opposition from those wedded to extremely conservative views upon this as well as upon other questions demanding liberality of treatment.

However, we are fortunately not without conspicuous examples of complete changes of national thought in relation to affairs of great moment in our development. Our entire national progress has been marked by an orderly transition from a loosely associated community of discordant states to a system of centralized governmental authority. Within the past half-century we have abandoned the primitive theory of securing efficient railway transportation by a process of competitive development, and adopted in its place a system of governmental supervision and regulation as better adapted for the fulfilment of the purposes of our national highways. In like manner, compelled by the very necessities of our development, we have abandoned our original theory of the establishment of a policy of isolation in respect to the other nations of the earth, and have assumed our rightful position as one of the influential world powers, accepting duties and responsibilities impossible of evasion. If, as the writer maintains, experience has conclusively demonstrated the futility of longer attempting to solve the negro problem upon the lines heretofore principally discussed, to persevere in the effort for the sake of consistency would certainly be a course of conduct unworthy of an intelligent people.

Now, while the proposed plan, based upon Lincoln's theory for the solution of the problem, is not claimed to be

of novel character, it may confidently be asserted that such a proposition has never yet reached the stage of general discussion, and so far as known, the objections urged against its feasibility have never been subjected to the scrutiny necessary to determine their validity. In a word, whenever the proposition has been tentatively presented, those who by reason of insufficient reflection upon the subject or on considerations of self-interest have opposed its adoption on account of its alleged impracticability, lacking sufficient argument to establish conviction upon that point, have contented themselves by endeavoring to dispose of the subject by a passing phrase. Instances may be cited from current discussion.

The Reverend Washington Gladden characterizes all schemes of colonization as "idiotic." Mr. Charles A. Gardner pronounces them "visionary and chimerical." President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, says "they are not desirable." Thomas Nelson Page says separation is "Utopian." Ex-Governor William D. Jelks, of Alabama, in like manner, pronounces colonization "idiotic." Professor William E. Burghardt DuBois employs the adjective "unthinkable." Professor Kelly Miller denounces such plans as the "climax of absurdity." President Booker T. Washington sees "insurmountable obstacles" attending the exodus of his race, and says that any project of colonization is "chimerical." The Honorable William H. Fleming writes that "physical facts alone prevent deportation." Mr. Gilchrist Stewart says the project is "absolutely impossible." "Utterly fatuous," said President-elect Taft in his speech at the North Carolina dinner in New York, December 7, 1908, evidently having given but cursory thought to the proposition. Mr. George S. Merriam, at the close of his discussion, somewhat hysterically concludes that "colonization is impossible."

The
Project un-
favorably
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ized.

Ray Stannard Baker, whose careful study of the problem should have led him to the truth, dismisses the subject in a paragraph as "extraordinary." And so, in varying phrases of rejection, but without offering reasons therefor, these and others who should be best qualified to pass enlightened judgment on the subject under inquiry array themselves in opposition to the project which to Lincoln seemed so reasonable and beneficent.

Let us, therefore, devote some serious consideration to the various objections against this radical and admittedly effective solution of the problem, which in one form or another are urged as insurmountable. On close examination, they will be found to arrange themselves in two classes:

First,—Objections directed against the nature of the solution itself, either attacking it as to its equitable character or questioning the possibility of its execution; and

Second,—Objections relating to the difficulty of securing the acceptance of the proposed solution by the American people, and to putting it into operation, based either upon the assumed indifference of the whole people or the fancied interests of those likely to be injured by its operation.

I

Taking up first in natural order those objections which may be advanced against the justice and feasibility of the

proposed solution, we find them to be in general
Objections as to Justice. as follows:

(1) To a certain class of minds the proposition of deportation in any form will present itself as inherently wrong as contemplating a violation of the primary rights of the individual negroes now enjoying the privilege of citizenship in our country. If it indeed be the case that the proposed solution involves the violation of human rights, and that any scheme of assisted emigration necessitates wrong-

doing toward the African race, then, of course, this consideration would end the whole matter. What, then, are the rights of the negro in this country, and how are they in any way superior to the rights of the white man where the interests of the two races come into unavoidable conflict?

If the white majority of the people of the United States, and in this case the overwhelming majority, in numbers and in wealth, intellectual culture, enterprise, indeed, in everything that combines to constitute good citizenship, determine, with the assent of the more intelligent members of the negro minority, that it is better for this peculiar and unassimilable race to live apart, wherein can there be found any violation of human rights? There certainly will be none, if the general consent of the members of the negro race can be obtained to the scheme for their separate establishment. And certainly none of the proposed features of the remedy, save the suggestion that in the remote possibility of an inconsiderable residue refusing to accept the opportunity for colonization, provision should be made for their enforced removal from the country, can be considered as being in any way violative of what are loosely designated as the natural rights of mankind.

If the preponderating numbers of the negro race decline to accept such arrangements as may be made for their future welfare through assisted emigration and by requiring them to live apart from the white population, and desire to remain in this country decitizenized, and under conditions which safeguard the welfare and improvement of the Caucasian race, the project inevitably fails. No sufficient means are at hand to effect the coerced removal of ten million people. On the other hand, if the great majority of the race assent to the proposed solution, and accept assistance to remove themselves to more favorable climes and to embrace their more advantageous opportunities, can it be justly said that

to require the remainder, presumably those least qualified to maintain a separate racial existence, also to take their departure to some designated locality, would be a violation of any natural right?

We have, fortunately, an established precedent in this country for such removal. In the early years of the last century it was found that the Indian tribes inhabiting portions of North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama were inimical to the white settlers, and that their possession of fertile but undeveloped tracts of country militated against the progress of the enterprising people desiring to make that region their home. The National Government, acting in conjunction with the states, made provision for the removal of these misplaced occupants beyond the Mississippi to what has since become the flourishing state of Oklahoma. The project was bitterly antagonized upon the same sentimental grounds now advanced to discourage the deportation of the negro. Notwithstanding this irrational opposition, the removal of the Indians was accomplished, and the action of the government is now accepted by all to have been a wise and statesmanlike solution of a serious problem, which, at the time, threatened injuriously to affect the prosperity of a large section of the country. Let us never for a moment assume that the people of the United States will take any step in relation to this, or any other matter demanding adjustment, which is not justified by the highest principles of equity and national morality.

(2) The principal objection currently urged against all propositions looking to the colonization of the negro race is the enormous expense involved in the execution of any project of this character. At the present stage of discussion, to most minds this presents an insuperable obstacle. The subject has been given careful discussion in a preceding chapter, and the

The Objection of Expense.

writer believes that it has been demonstrated that the plan of Lincoln may be carried out without involving any inordinate drain upon the resources of the nation.

It is futile to attempt to disguise the fact that to arrange for the transportation of ten millions of human beings from this continent to other lands, even within a period of twenty-five years, is an undertaking of arduous and expensive character. Their establishment and protection in their new home would likewise entail liberal expenditures and the assumption of serious international obligations.

But it is confidently asserted that no matter what outlay the execution of the project might require, the benefits immediately accruing would afford abundant compensation. It cannot be argued that the resources of the nation are inadequate to put the plan in operation. It would require the appropriation of but a small part of the revenues of the country to this object to bring the matter to a successful issue. And measuring the element of expense either by the experience of the past, the exigencies of the present, or the prospects of the future, the proposed solution of the problem is far more economical than any other that the wit of man can devise. Let us give the past some consideration.

From the very origin of our nationality, the negro has been an expensively injurious element in our industrial development. In his work on *The Impending Crisis of the South*, published in 1857, Hinton Rowan Helper graphically pointed out how the introduction of the negro had retarded the development of that section; and in a former chapter of this work the effort was made to demonstrate the continuing deleterious effect of his presence upon all parts of the country. It is common knowledge that the introduction of the race into this country, and that alone,

brought about the Civil War, with its incalculable waste of life and treasure. The word "incalculable" is advisedly chosen, because we have no adequate means of estimating the tremendous loss to the country resulting from that unfortunate conflict.

Statistics exhibiting the enormous financial cost to the nation of the war for the emancipation of the negro were presented in connection with the estimate of the expense of the proposed undertaking for removal in the chapter on ways and means. Including the payments since made on account of pensions and interest on the national debt, the actual expenditure of money would approximate \$4000 for each member of the African race in the country at the fall of Fort Sumter. Nor is this all. The money loss, great as it was, constituted, indeed, but the smallest part of what the nation sacrificed in that gigantic struggle. The loss of mere material possessions may be easily repaired, especially in a new and fertile land, but the effect of the loss of the best blood of the North and South, so freely poured out on a hundred battle-fields, can never be measured or even made the subject of spiritual estimate. The official figures establish the fact that in this internecine conflict approximately one million of men of both sections, for the most part youthful and ardent, the devoted and energetic representatives of the best elements of American citizenship, yielded up their lives in support of the principles which they advocated.

The desolated plantations of the South and the lonely abandoned farms of New England bear eloquent testimony to the unspeakable sacrifice made by the nation in order to work out the emancipation of the negro race. Let us guard well that the unfinished work does not in some like manner exact further toll of the life and treasure of the nation.

In comparison with this real sacrifice of life and money, how insignificant appears the expense necessary to insure our nation against the possibility of a future conflict even more desolating than that of our Civil War. Surely, this great nation, out of the plenitude of its resources, could, without the slightest financial embarrassment, devote sufficient money year by year to effect within the next three decades the removal of the negro race upon Lincoln's cherished design.

In addition to the reference to the vast expenditures of life and property occasioned by the Civil War, fought solely on account of the negro, another consideration upon that subject graphically illustrates the permanent injury his presence has caused to the development of the United States. The utilization of our magnificent natural resources has depended in the past, and will for some time yet continue to depend, largely upon additions to our population. These result from two sources, — first, the natural increase of the resident population, and secondly, the accession of numbers which comes by immigration from foreign countries.

From the inception of our government until the year 1860, the increase of population measured by decades had been very regular in its character, and, except for the wasteful struggle of 1861–1865, there is no reason to suppose that it would not have continued in the same approximate ratio. During the decade of 1860 to 1870 nothing occurred materially to affect the increase of negro population, but the percentage of increase in the white population fell from an average of 35.4 to 24.8 per cent. Upon this subject the following instructive table is presented, covering the period from 1790 to 1900:

**Injurious
Effect of the
Negro in
the Past.**

INCREASE OF WHITE POPULATION

PERIOD	INCREASE	PERCENTAGE
1790-1800	1,134,440	35.8
1800-1810	1,555,627	36.1
1810-1820	2,004,724	34.2
1820-1830	2,665,263	33.9
1830-1840	3,657,645	34.7
1840-1850	5,363,363	37.8
1850-1860	7,369,469	37.7
1860-1870	6,666,840	24.8
1870-1880	9,813,593	29.2
1880-1890	11,698,288	27.0
1890-1900	11,707,938	21.2

Taking the average increase of population for each decade from the foundation of the government up to the year 1860, we find it to have been 35.4 per cent., and taking into consideration the figures shown by the two preceding decades, it is unlikely that it would have been materially less during the period from 1860 to 1870. The Civil War caused a diminution of nearly 13 per cent. in the rate of increase. Assuming that the prevailing ratio of increase had continued, the addition of population would have been 9,588,000 instead of 6,666,840, showing a loss of 2,928,000 due entirely to the Civil War waged on account of the negro during that decade.

It is no mere casual coincidence that the census of 1870 should reveal a falling away of nearly three million from the normal increase of the white population of the United States. At least four million men of youth and vigor, the very choicest element of our national life, were removed from home surroundings and productive industry during the years of the war. One million of them never returned. Immigration was checked almost to the point of disappearance. It is no exaggeration to state that the loss of valuable white population by the Civil War and its im-

mediate consequences was greater than the whole number of the negroes in the country in 1861.

It is easily deducible from the figures of the foregoing table that the needless war waged for the emancipation of the negro resulted in a loss of millions in population to the country, with the attendant retardation of its industrial development. The South has been the greatest loser by this unfortunate state of affairs. To the unprejudiced observer it is manifest, beyond the possibility of question, that the existence of the negro has been, and will continue to be, the cause of the comparative backwardness of that section in its relation to the general development of the country. Shall we, then, continue to waste valuable time in discussing an objection founded upon the comparatively slight expense to be incurred in effecting this removal, when its ultimate result will undoubtedly be the immediate acceleration of national prosperity and the return of double, yea, tenfold the money necessary to carry out the project?

The question of the general effect of the proposed solution upon the development of the South especially, and in general upon the other portions of the country, will be given consideration in succeeding chapters, but for the present it suffices to say, that a little clear thinking upon the subject will convince the unprejudiced mind that whatever expense may be involved in the execution of Lincoln's plan is not to be considered in comparison with the benefits which would be derived from its fulfilment.

(3) An objection quite frequently advanced is that there is at present no place convenient for the colonization of the negro race, no country in which colonies could be safely established and given opportunity for development. The general discussion of the place to be selected has been made the subject of the preceding chapter, and the writer believes it has been sufficiently

established that, while difficulties exist in regard to this aspect of the problem, they are not insurmountable. Either by the operation of natural choice by the negro, or by rights acquired under treaties with other powers, suitable locations can readily be selected, where, under the protection and supervision of this country, one or more colonies may be established, in which the negro could be given opportunity to demonstrate to the world his capacity for the organization and administration of the affairs of his race.

(4) Another objection currently put forth, and one which from past experience cannot be said to be entirely without

Objections as to the Negro's Safety. foundation, is this:—that no matter where upon the face of this great revolving globe the negro might seek to establish his separate nationality, and no matter how diligently he might enter upon the endeavor to advance his independent welfare, he would not be assured of safety from molestation by the stronger peoples of the world. In other words, not to put too fine a point upon the consideration of this aspect of the proposed solution, it is asserted that if upon the banks of the Congo, along the Liberian coast, upon the great undeveloped island of New Guinea, or elsewhere, he should undertake the enterprise of laying the foundation and building up the superstructure of an independent negro state, England, France, Germany, or some other powerful nation would seek to oppress the growing people, and if the natural resources of the country of his selection should prove to be of valuable character, he would be unable to withstand the covetous assaults of the robber nations, and soon become a prey to superior force.

It cannot be denied that there is some justification for this assertion. We find it illustrated in England's dealings with backward and weaker nations in the not very remote past. But it is to be hoped that the days of Cortes, Clive,

and Cecil Rhodes are past, and that the future will witness a change of sentiment among the nations in regard to the spoliation of the weak by the strong. In addition to this, wherever under the projected arrangement the negro would be established, he would be protected by the authority of the United States until fully launched upon his new career, and in his new position would be as strong as the resources of the government at Washington could guarantee. It would be only after his experimental government had acquired that degree of stability sufficient to enable it to assume its position as one of the nations of the earth, that danger of this character might be apprehended. Should it then come, the result of any effort to deprive him of independence would depend upon the qualifications of the negro himself.

This, indeed, would be the crux of the problem for the race. If, after such an establishment, the negro should be able to advance himself in the path of progress and to give a demonstration to the world of his capacity for civilization, he would be safeguarded by the moral sentiment of all civilized peoples, and need fear no oppression. If, on the contrary, he should prove unable to command the qualities of progress,—if, with all the advantages attendant upon such an opportunity for national development, he should fall back into a condition of savagery, why, then the world belongs to those who are qualified to use and develop its resources. By the immutable laws of nature, incapacity and ineptitude must invariably give place to ability and adaptation, and in such event, the negro problem would have reached its final solution by the demonstration of the incapacity of the African race to maintain its place in the ever-onward progression of the civilized nations.

But such a result is not within the range of expectation. The negro would not be subjected to such apprehended oppression. Hayti, San Domingo, and Liberia have each

maintained its national existence for many years, and constitute a standing refutation of this argument.

II

Let us now proceed in orderly discussion to consider those objections which are from time to time interposed, and which, while assuming that the plan is righteous in its conception and feasible in its execution, are directed to the difficulty of persuading the American people to adopt a policy of assisted emigration and colonization, and to devote sufficient time and money to the necessary work of carrying it into execution. And here, it must be confessed, the more serious obstacles arise.

To effect a radical change in the viewpoint of the great majority of the people of the North, and those of the South as well, who have some comprehension of the issues involved, and at the same time to arouse the great mass of inert and indifferent people to an appreciation of the gravity of the problem and the necessity of an immediate solution, presents, indeed, an exceedingly arduous task. But because a thing is difficult, is it not to be attempted? Because certain substantial objections may be urged against the solution, shall we fall back upon the policy of negation so frequently embodied in the phrase, "Let it work itself out"? Such certainly is not the course to be pursued by a resolute and intelligent people.

Let us, therefore, proceed to examine these additional objections with a view of ascertaining how far they are of weight and by what means they may be overcome.

(I) At the outset we are met with the statement that THE NEGRO WILL NOT GO. It is said that no matter how alluring may be the prospects placed before him to induce him to emigrate, and no matter how discouraging conditions may become in his present surroundings, with cat-like fidelity to locality he will cling

Would the
Negro Ac-
cept the
Plan?

to his native soil, and that neither by the prospect of advancement nor by the menace of extinction can the race be induced to favor any plan looking to its colonization.

If this be true, then assuredly we are confronted by this astounding paradox: The negro complains, alleging that, North and South, he is subjected to an assertion of race inferiority, at once galling to his pride and fatal to his prospects of industrial advancement; that while in theory he is a citizen, endowed with equal rights and privileges, in practice he is considered unfit to associate in any capacity with the majority of his fellow-citizens; that the members of his race are deprived of the elective franchise, excluded from the jury box, and made the victims of a racial animosity "more fell than anguish, hunger or the sea"; that the men, women, and children of the race must submit to humiliatingly inferior accommodations in travel, and to equally humiliating exclusion from church, theatre, school, museum, or other humanizing agencies; that in all sections of the land his color places him at an economic disadvantage; and that in the lower South a system of peonage, of which he is the victim, is gradually being established, virtually relegating him to a position of serfdom.

He further complains, and alleges, that being practically an outlaw and denied the protection of the regular process of law, he and his hold their rights at the indulgence of the superior race, and are at every turn subjected to a capricious spirit of lawlessness which visits upon them, unrestrained and unpunished, burnings, whippings, mutilation, exile, and even death; that the men of his race are denounced as lazy, dishonest, and inherently incapable of progress, and the women stigmatized as loose in morals and derided as being not unwilling to submit themselves to the white man's lawless lust. In the press and on the platform, he raises a bitter outcry against the wrongs and indignities thus heaped upon

him; and yet we are called upon to believe, in the face of all this record of oppression and contumely, that he is contented to remain in a land where his past is a reproach, his present a mortification, and his future unrelieved by a ray of hope.

Is the negro indeed so pigeon livered? Does he lack the gall to make oppression bitter? It is contrary to all human experience to believe that if a plan of assisted emigration were presented, such as has been outlined in the foregoing pages, with its liberal execution assured by the official strength and authority of the United States, it would not be extensively embraced by the members of the negro race. The negro is naturally desirous of bettering his condition, and if reasonable opportunity for that purpose is afforded him, he will not be slow in availing himself of its benefits. If he is assured that the project is supported by ample authority, that no expense will be spared to carry it into execution, and that he may securely rely upon the continuing assistance of the United States Government, there is little reason to doubt that but a short time would elapse before the great majority of the race would grasp the opportunity offered for their betterment.

The inspiration, however, for such a movement will come, as it always does come in the great spiritual uplifts of the peoples, from the rank and file of the race, and not from the so-called higher classes among the negroes. It was not the privileged and favored priesthood who led the children of Israel out of the house of bondage and started them upon their epoch-making career. It took many miracles to induce the "leaders and officers" to accept the plan of Moses for the Exodus, and even when the plan was well under way, Moses and Aaron were upbraided for exposing the chosen people to hardship and danger.

It was not the wealthy and comfortably placed landowners

**Leadership
for the
Movement.**

and office-holders under the crown who led the people in organizing the American Revolution. The favored few among the American negroes, those who by reason of fortunate circumstances have found their lines fallen in pleasant places, and whose interest in the problem of their race lies in the direction of the satisfaction of their personal needs and ambitions, will never assume the leadership of a movement requiring them to expose their fortunes to the hazard of untried enterprise.

President Booker T. Washington would probably find it much more to his liking to continue his lectures at Tuskegee, combined with an occasional visit to Northern cities to present the needs of his institution, there to be banqueted by friends and to receive the well-earned appreciative notices of the press, than to begin the work of laying the foundation of a branch of his admirable school on the remote shores of Liberia, or of sending a corps of his pupils to open the way for the civilization of the island of Hayti.

Professor DuBois would be disinclined to leave his attractive literary work at Atlanta University to embark in an effort to lead his people toward higher opportunities for development upon a foreign shore. Negro clergymen would not be likely at once to resign their comfortable parish situations for heroic efforts to do missionary work in the plains of Central Africa, where conditions of life would call for a more strenuous exercise of both mental and physical qualifications. Negro office-holders under the Federal Government with comfortable sinecures; negro financiers who have acquired a competency; people generally of distinction and influence in the social and religious circles of the race, may loudly expostulate against the ills to which their people are subjected; but the odor of the fleshpots of Egypt is very alluring, and this class, small in numbers but naturally strong in influence, will doubtless be found in opposition to Lincoln's plan.

The negro is not a pioneer. His spirit does not readily lend itself to enterprises of daring and hardihood. Therefore, little assistance may be expected from the present leaders of the race in the promotion of the plan. Much, however, will come, upon proper inducements, from those who, feeling the intolerable burdens of their situation and realizing the impossibility of advancement in their present environment, are to-day eagerly seeking some opportunity to better their circumstances by removal to a more favoring situation. The movement might for a time be slow; indeed, years might elapse before its true value would be appreciated by those whom it is sought to assist, but once fairly under way, it would go on with ever-accelerating progress until the problem would finally be brought to a successful solution.

Bear in mind, also, that while advantageous opportunities would lie before him, that feature of the plan which calls for the adoption of a policy of decitizenizing the negro would make it incumbent upon him to accept its provisions, or by the rejection of them to resign himself once for all to a position of permanent and legally recognized inferiority. The success of the solution lies in the hands of the superior majority race. Without difficulty and without friction, by a mere adoption of the plan and its enforcement by refusal to accept its rejection by the negro, the result may be automatically achieved.

(2) Another objection certain to be advanced is that **THE SOUTH CANNOT AFFORD TO ALLOW THE NEGRO TO GO.** It is alleged that the white man's interests are so inseparably connected with the retention of the negro upon the soil, that the former will present the sternest opposition to any attempt to foster negro emigration, and that without his co-operation the project must necessarily fail. It is asserted that the plan

**The South
Would
Object.**

would meet such hostility in the section of the country where the majority of negroes are massed, that neither the negro's own desire to emigrate, nor such aid as the nation might extend to him, could overcome the opposition of those financially benefited by constraining him to remain in his present situation.

And here we encounter a yet more striking paradox. In frequent and forcible discussion of the subject the white man of the South alleges that the negro as a race is absolutely unfitted for participation in the affairs of government; that the safety of the South demands his exclusion from the polls, and to that end his disfranchisement has been effected; that the negro is likewise unqualified for jury service, and that as in general he is ignorant, venal, and corrupt, controlled in his conduct by motives of racial clannishness, he is not to be entrusted with any duty or authority in the government of the community.

He further asserts that as a factor in the industrial problem of the South, the negro as a laborer, male and female, is thriftless, unreliable, and inefficient, that he will work only when compelled by dire necessity, and complains of his vagrant criminality as imposing a burden on the prosperity of the section. He charges the negro with a desire to abandon the work of the plantation and to herd in vicious idleness in the slums of the towns. He derides his efforts to secure education, and mocks at his religion as voodooistic superstition.

More than all, the Southern white man accuses the negro of cherishing a malignant hatred which too often finds expression in acts of fiendish lawlessness, and renders the daily life of women and children a thing of terror, and which in turn leads to such reprisals as shock the moral sense of the world. He denounces the members of the inferior race as breeders of disease, corrupters of youth, ravishers of women

and children, and harborers of criminals; he taunts them with their aspirations for political freedom and social equality, and, in fine, denies to the members of the race the possession of even one respectable quality, imputing to them all that is vicious in vice and everything that is criminal in crime. And yet we are asked to believe that he will not give his consent to a plan which promises to remove from his section this alien, worthless, and criminal element!

With lurid rhetoric, the Southern scientist pictures the unspeakable degradation of the Caucasian blood which would follow the miscegenation of the races, and bitterly denounces as traitors to the highest interests of their people those of the white race who would in the least degree remove the barriers to social equality. And yet the average Southerner, it is said, would oppose any project for the removal of a danger at once so threatening and so portentous.

However inconsistent this attitude of the white men and women of the South may seem, it must in all candor be admitted that it presents an exceedingly difficult objection to overcome, because the opposition disclosed rests upon what appears to be a pecuniary basis. Any proposition of this character which may for a time operate to menace the financial interests of the Southern landowner, and which superficially viewed might arouse the apprehension of acting as an impediment to the rapidly growing progress of the South, is sure to meet with the most determined opposition. The financial interest is frequently short-sighted, but is always awake to its supposed perils. To apply Macaulay's familiar illustration: "If any considerable financial interest found itself opposed by the law of gravitation, powerful arguments would soon be forthcoming to demonstrate that the law itself was grossly erroneous."

And, upon superficial consideration, it must be conceded that the rapid removal of the negro population would appear to be inimical to the financial interests of those of the landowning class of the South who derive their livelihood from renting their impoverished lands to ignorant, improvident negro tenants. There is no question but that temporarily considered the negro's presence inures to their financial advantage. The reasons are obvious.

Considerations of Financial Character.

In the first instance, the negro can be induced to pay a higher rent than an independent white citizen would find possible under existing circumstances. Being practically beyond the protection of the law, in cases of dispute as to his contractual rights, his ignorance and the local prejudice against him place him at a disadvantage and enforce his submission to the demands of the landlord. He is content to subsist upon a lower scale of living than any people of Caucasian blood would accept. Where he is a tenant or a laborer under contract he is ordinarily compelled to trade at the company's store, thus enhancing by a second profit the acquisitions of his employer.

And further, the peonage system, now so prevalent in the lower South, could, of course, never have gained foothold except for the presence of the negro, and the convict labor system obtaining in so many of the states of that section, through which large profits accrue to favored individuals through the leasing of convicts from the state, would be seriously interfered with by the emigration of the negro people. No longer would the great state of Georgia, the empire state of the South, be able to boast that while it rented its vicious human material to contractors at the rate of \$22 a month, the contractors in turn were able to obtain from subcontractors the highest rate of wages ever secured for convict labor, viz.—\$47.50 per month. Let us imagine,

if we can, the condition of human beings sold bodily to selfish contractors to be worked by them at a profit, where they pay for their enforced services \$47.50 per month. The fact that less than one-half of the wages of these unfortunate beings finds its way into the state treasury only serves to emphasize the point that the most stubborn resistance would be made to any plan of assisted emigration of the negro by those so profitably engaged in the exploitation of his capacity as an unwilling worker. To this reform from contractor and landlord, from the few living in ease upon the product of the negro's toil, would come a vigorous remonstrance.

Doubtless some opposition, upon sentimental grounds, from short-sighted but well meaning persons, would be added to that of those financially interested. And yet all such opposition could be overcome or ignored. To overcome such opposition, it should only be necessary to establish, as has been done a thousand times in the past, that the presence of the negro is a clog upon the progress of the South; that his occupancy of the soil deters emigration from the North and from foreign countries; and that, as in the olden time slave labor degraded free labor, so at the present time does negro labor degrade white labor; and that there never will be an efficient self-respecting labor element in that part of our country until the removal of the black man has been accomplished.

Experience has shown that wherever white labor has been introduced in the South, either in the factory or upon the farm, it is far more efficient than negro labor. During the days of slavery, nine-tenths of the cotton crop was raised by negroes; at the present time less than three-eighths measures the result of their efforts. Statistics establish that the greatest production of cotton, both by the acre and in gross, is in Texas and other sections of the South where the work of cultivation is principally performed by white labor.

In his instructive essay upon the economic future of the negro¹ Mr. Alfred Holt Stone presents an interesting comparison of the relative efficiency of the newly arrived Italian cotton grower of Mississippi with his negro competitor. Although, as the essayist states, the negro was cultivating a crop with which his race had been familiar for generations, while the white immigrant had never seen a stalk of cotton before coming to America, a few years before, the result of the comparison is much to the advantage of the foreigner. The average cash value of the product per hand is for the Italian \$277.36, for the negro \$128.47; the average cash product value per acre, Italians, \$44.77, negroes, \$26.36. Mr. Stone further compares the habits of industry and methods of life of the two races, and in every respect finds the Italian superior to the indolent and ambitionless negro.

It is a time worn fallacy, now beginning to lose its acceptance, that the negro is in any way essential to the welfare of the South. Had he before him the prospect of economic freedom; the promise, no matter how remote, of social standing; a fair expectation of gaining political power, something might be expected of him in the way of industrial advancement. But so long as present conditions remain, and they will continue indefinitely, the negro is but an impediment to the development of the South, and only the unenlightened minds of that section would oppose a rational plan for his removal. And yet we must concede that even in well informed circles in the South the impression does prevail that the emigration of the negro would be injurious to the best welfare of that community.

In discussing the subject of negro colonization in a leading editorial, April 4, 1907, the *Atlanta Constitution* expressed the following view:

¹*Studies in the American Race Problem.* By Alfred Holt Stone. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1908, p. 179 *et seq.*

**The Negro
Not Neces-
sary to
the South.**

The South, would not, broadly speaking, tolerate such a solution. In Georgia we even have a law making it a crime to solicit negro labor to go outside the state borders. The forthcoming Legislature is committed to negro disfranchisement. But a proposition to repeal the Georgia law that penalizes the negro immigrant agent would not receive serious consideration by that same Legislature. That's more Georgia sentiment. And, as the subject bears intimately on the grievous labor problem, it's Southern sentiment, also.

Ephraim is indeed wedded to his idols!

In a subsequent chapter, in discussion of the results to be effected by the proposed solution of Abraham Lincoln, occasion will be taken more fully to discuss this phase of the problem, but it suffices here to say that should the proposed remedy for the evil find acceptance in other sections of the country, and commend itself to the negro, opposition in the South by those interested in preventing his departure would not be found to be ineluctable. If it could not be overcome by legitimate argument, by those considerations of self-interest which must forcibly appeal to any enlightened people, such opposition could be ignored, and the project carried out in disregard of its existence. Should the negro once evince a desire to depart from the country, and should provision be made by the Federal Government for that purpose, no supposititious interest of any section would long prevent his assisted emigration.

(3) We now come to discuss an objection of a somewhat similar character to the one last considered, but applicable

<p>The Objection of the Need of a Servile Class.</p>	<p>alike to all sections of the United States, namely, the objection that THE NEGRO IS NEEDED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO RENDER SERVICES OF SUCH MENIAL AND DISAGREEABLE CHARACTER AS ARE BENEATH THE DIGNITY OF THE WHITE POPULATION.</p>
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“Your plan won’t do at all, Mr. Pickett,” said a cultivated Northern woman, after the writer had spent some enthusiastic moments in the statement of its leading provisions; “we can’t get along without janitors and elevator boys.” There is doubtless a quite well defined feeling in the community, North and South, especially among the more refined and cultured people, that there are certain tasks and occupations of absolute necessity, and yet of such unpleasant and undignified character as to be unfit for performance by self-respecting people, and that we therefore need negroes for services of this character. In common parlance, certain things are only “fit for a nigger to do.”

In a former chapter some discussion of this topic was directed to an explanation of the effect of cheap negro labor upon other labor in the community, and the endeavor was made to demonstrate that the existence of any class of persons willing to accept at meagre compensation labor of a servile and disagreeable character has a tendency to lower the wages of all workers subject to their competition. The answer to the objection now under consideration is this: So long as we have in our respective communities members of the negro race who, under compulsion of circumstances, are willing for low wages to accept disagreeable tasks and pursue menial occupations, services of this character, however intrinsically honorable, will be ill paid, and therefore regarded as servile and shunned by the other members of the community. Should Lincoln’s plan for the solution of the negro problem be adopted, and the negro be eliminated as a factor in our social and industrial life, it would be astonishing to see how duties of the kind mentioned would rise in dignity when performed by well paid, self-respecting, intelligent American citizens.

Illustrations of this tendency toward the elevation of occupations by increase of salary and efficiency have been

presented in a former chapter, and might readily be multiplied indefinitely; but it is sufficient for the purpose of meeting this objection to point out that the final result of the elimination of the negro as an industrial competitor would tend to give more lucrative character and greater dignity to such occupations, while the ingenuity and inventive enterprise of the white race could be relied upon to a great extent to improve conditions, so as to render many of such unpleasant occupations less burdensome and others wholly unnecessary.

To the negro himself the suggestion of this objection contains a distinct menace. If his race is to be doomed to a perpetual condition of employment at inferior occupations, if the position of underling is to be the lot of his people, why then we have an established system of caste, by which those of negro blood are restricted to servile employments, not only in this generation, but in all generations to come. The theory that the negro must remain with us to fill the undesirable positions, would, logically carried out, constitute him and his children's children a Sudra class, destined to unchangeable subordination.

Sir Thomas Moore, in his *Utopia*, a dream of the Middle Ages for the organization of an industrial democracy, encountered this difficulty, and could solve it only by introducing a violation of his theory of equality among the citizens of his visionary republic. He was compelled to introduce bondsmen to perform "all vile service, all slavery and drudgery, with all laboursome toil and base business." Note how these "bondsmen" correspond with our negro element:

Another kind of bondsmen they have, when a vile drudge being a poor labourer in another country doth choose of his own free will to be a bondsman among them. These

they treat and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as their own free citizens, saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence (which seldom is seen) they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with empty hands.

(4) But, it may be said as a concluding objection, AFTER ALL, YOU HAVE NOT SOLVED THE NEGRO PROBLEM. You have simply removed it. Assume, says the objector, that the negro, to the number of millions, accepts the theory of Lincoln, that he announces himself ready for departure, that he throngs to the seaports seeking transportation to Africa, or elsewhere, and that in ten years you are called upon to transport, establish, and maintain five millions of human beings in Liberia or other settlements. Then, he says, you have involved yourself in difficulties and expenses even greater than those existing, and by the transfer simply added another to our present embarrassments. Do not Cuba, Hayti, Porto Rico, and the Philippines suffice?

It is true, in a sense, that the problem would not be solved, because, as emphasized in the first chapter of this work, the problem is susceptible of final solution by the negro and by the negro alone. We would, however, by the removal have changed its character and measurably shifted the burden to the black man; we would have removed the present obstacles to his free development; we would have lifted from him the yoke of oppression and placed him amidst surroundings where, if he be, as claimed, a member of an undeveloped and not essentially inferior race, he would have the unhampered opportunity to give the world a display of his qualifications.

In so far as it concerns the United States in its interior

organization and economy, by assisted emigration the problem would be solved. The effect of such a solution upon the nation will be the subject of one of the concluding chapters of this work. It is not contended that the proposed solution would be flawless. If, through the instrumentality of the United States, great numbers of negroes should be established in Liberia, the Congo Free State, or in any other section of the African Continent, we would be for a long period called upon to extend our moral influence for their protection, and liberally to expend our revenues for their maintenance, until after years of experience they should become able to establish themselves upon a self-supporting and independent basis.

But certainly we owe something to this people. They and their ancestors have been for generations workers upon our soil; they have cleared the fields and developed the agriculture of the South; they have, unpaid or poorly paid, performed the hard work of a great division of our country, and it would be but little by way of compensation should we advance them some portion of the wealth which has been the product of their toil, as it would certainly be the height of injustice to allow them to go empty handed from among us.

In like fashion, should there be any considerable emigration to the West India Islands and to the countries surrounding the Caribbean Sea, the duty which our destiny imposes upon us of caring, by protectorate or otherwise, for those regions, would simply be made somewhat more difficult. In any event, considering the period which must necessarily elapse in preparation for the proposed plan, and the decades required to carry it into execution, it is not to be apprehended that the difficulty of caring for these people, once they were established outside of the limits of the country, would prove too heavy a tax upon our national resources.

Reviewing thus briefly the different objections raised against the adoption and execution of the policy formulated by Lincoln, we find that none may in any sense be regarded as insuperable. Each and all may be overcome. If there were no objections of weight, the plan would be in operation to-day; and were it once adopted by both the interested races it would be astonishing to observe how these fancied objections would vanish as the means for carrying out the project assumed practical shape. And even assuming that the objections to be encountered are more weighty than they appear as herein set forth, yet they are but as dust in the balance when weighed with the benefits to be derived from the complete execution of the plan.

As stated by a writer¹ whose profound and accurate views announced some twenty years ago have received confirmation with every passing year,—

The removal of the colored population, within a reasonable period, would itself richly repay the white people of the United States by its effects on the social, political and industrial conditions and relations of the two sections, North and South. There would be a perfect union and lasting peace and harmony between them ever afterward, with all that such conditions imply; they cannot attain these results in any other way; and the value of such results is truly above all price. The nation could well afford to beggar itself, on his account, for one hundred years, if only it could start anew at the end of that time with the African back in Africa.

Then to say that objections exist, and that the execution of the plan which Lincoln favored is difficult, is not to say that it should not be undertaken. Nothing is easier than to

¹ Carlyle McKinley, *An Appeal to Pharaoh*, page 154.

defer action with the unwarranted statement that the suggested remedy is impracticable. Gigantic as the outlined task may appear, with time, resolution and a liberal expenditure of money it can be undertaken and successfully accomplished. Once the removal of the negro race should be effected, the marvel of the nations would be that the previous condition of affairs had been allowed to remain so long without remedy, and that an intelligent and resourceful people should have endured even for a day such an impediment to its continued progress.

CHAPTER V

THE TESTIMONY OF THE EXPERTS

The spirit of caste drives the negro out of churches, theatres, hotels, rail cars and steamboats, or assigns to him in them a place apart. It drives him into the cellars, dens and alleys of towns, into hovels in the country; and it does all this without laws, without concert or design, without unkindness or cruelty; but unconsciously, simply because it cannot help doing it, obeying this instinctive impulse and the immutable, eternal laws by which races of men are kept apart and are preserved throughout countless ages without change.

These laws are divine. They execute themselves in spite of party combinations or fanatical legislatures or philanthropic enthusiasts or visionary dreamers about human perfectability and the rights of man.—Fisher's *Laws of Race*, page 21-3.

A THING which in itself appeals to our reasoning faculties as standing squarely with the eternal verities does not require to be buttressed by the citation of authorities. But however well we may be assured in our own thought that our judgment concerning a proposition is founded upon principles of correct reasoning, our advocacy is reinforced to greater certainty when we find that others, eminently qualified by judgment and experience to pass upon the question, have in the past entertained like views, and that in the present those surveying the situation from a disinterested standpoint are similarly of our mind as to the remedy to be applied to an existing evil.

In the administration of justice, where the subject under

examination in court is one demanding knowledge of unusual character, those qualified by reason of training and experience to express their opinions upon the subject and deemed capable of enlightening the tribunal, may be summoned to court to give their testimony as experts, and so, while the problem which is the subject of this discussion is one requiring for its solution only the application of the simplest principles of sound governmental policy, it may be enlightening to turn back for a moment to examine what have been the expressions of those statesmen of former periods best qualified to discuss the solution of the ever-present negro problem.

Recalling, as presented in a former chapter of this work, that the question has passed through four distinct stages of discussion, it is confidently asserted that in no instance occurring prior to the period of reconstruction following the Civil War can it be found that any American statesman of practical knowledge and constructive ability entertained or expressed the belief that the negro would ever be fitted to form an element in our nationality. A volume might be compiled from the written opinions of the practical men who founded and developed this government, to the effect that the negro was by his inherent traits disqualified from participation in the government or social institutions of our land. This proposition cannot be too strenuously insisted upon, and unless the experience of the past forty-five years has given us increased wisdom upon the subject, and as a matter of rational judgment has demonstrated the capacity of the negro to develop himself into a valuable citizen, it is incumbent upon us to be satisfied that we have acted wisely in departing from the path marked out by those who have preceded us in the consideration of this perplexing problem.

Let us now consider for a moment the recorded opinions upon the subject of those eminent men to whose labor, abilities, and sacrifices the enduring foundation of the prosperity of this country is so largely to be attributed, and also those of the later generation who labored to preserve our nationality when threatened by the dangers originating in the presence of the negro.

Mr. George S. Merriam begins his instructive and entertaining work entitled *The Negro and the Nation* with an anecdote of George Washington, describing him as condemning, in conversation with an English guest, the prevailing system of human slavery. After pointing out that the vicious practice was a legacy from English cupidity, the Father of his Country is represented as saying:

I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union by consolidating it in a common bond of principle.

As noted in the second chapter of this work, Washington, in common with Franklin and many of the statesmen of the time, considered the presence of the negro a thing of ephemeral character, and believed that with the abolition of slavery the evils attendant upon the introduction of the black man would pass away. In a letter to Governor Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, March 17, 1793, Washington, then President, regrets the failure of that State to prohibit the importation of negroes, and predicts "direful results" from their coming in numbers. Franklin was ardent in his opposition to slavery, and deprecated the introduction of the negro, declaring him unfit for American citizenship.

Thomas Jefferson, philosopher, scholar, statesman, writer,

and student of the negro problem, in his voluminous works from time to time devoted much attention to the character and prospects of the negro race. Pages might be **Thomas Jefferson.** quoted from his philosophic discussion of the subject. The great Virginian, regarding the question from many points of view, and in a series of articles between 1782 and the time of his death in 1826, frequently announced his conclusion that the white and the black cannot inhabit this country in harmony, and that the only possible solution of the great question, which even in his day was beginning to darken the national horizon, was the complete separation of the races.

We find him writing in his autobiography in 1821 (Jefferson's *Works*, volume i., page 48):

The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on; that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition; nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE; NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers.

We may consider this as foundation authority for the principle of colonization. Certainly no declaration could combine authority and philosophy in a greater degree than that of the distinguished author of the Declaration of Independence. Catching something of the spirit of the great apostle of freedom and the rights of man, the Virginia Legislature of 1831-2 debated a measure for the abolition of slavery by gradual emancipation accompanied by compensation, with provision for the deportation of the freedmen to their African homes. The plan received earnest support,—all conceded the evil, all admitted the effectual character of the remedy proposed,—but, as usual, the financial interest prevailed, the lethargic spirit of the people did not rise to the great occasion, and the sons and daughters of those who rejected the beneficent measure were fated to see their beloved State prostrate under the iron heel of a war brought about by short-sighted dealing with the subject of negro colonization.

It is familiar knowledge that Henry Clay early embraced the theory that the solution of the negro question was to be accomplished by the deportation of the race. **Henry Clay.** He was active and prominent in the establishment of the American Colonization Society, and was Lincoln's forerunner and preceptor in the development of the plan.

In the Hall of the House of Representatives, at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, January 20, 1827, he delivered an eloquent and exhaustive discourse on the subject, the reading of which should be the duty of every American citizen of the present time. Space allows but the briefest extract from this enlightening address:

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population (supposing it to be practicable) none have ever doubted. The mode of ac-

completing that most desirable object has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti, for a time, had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytian project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty.

With the exception of Calhoun, whose views were clouded by his subservience to the slavery interests, all of the great Senatorial quartet are on record as favoring the plan afterward developed by Lincoln.

In his famous speech of March 7, 1850, Daniel Webster, than whom no authority upon this subject can be **Daniel Webster.** entitled to greater respect, employed the following language:

In my observations upon slavery as it existed in this country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or melioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose, because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to take any lead on this subject, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for the transportation of the colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object.

The succeeding generation, in its close grapple with slavery, was not entirely oblivious to the fact that even with **Stephen A. Douglas.** the extinction of that hideous institution the negro problem would remain in its unsolved condition. Lincoln's plan for its solution has hereinbefore been presented in detail. He was not alone in entertaining these views. In the famous Senatorial debate of 1858, Stephen A. Douglas, in his speech at Ottawa, August 21, took similar ground:

For one I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever; and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men,—men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.

During the incumbency of the Presidential office by Millard Fillmore, the country narrowly escaped disruption **Millard Fillmore.** over the negro question. Opposing the proposed admission of California as a free state, the Southern fire-eaters, under the leadership of Toombs, Yancey, and Davis, threatened the immediate secession of the slave states, and it was only by the powerful influence exerted by the President, in conjunction with Clay and Webster, that the attempt to establish a slave-holding empire was postponed for a decade.

A life-long student of the negro problem, Fillmore was profoundly impressed with the dangers arising from the presence of the African race either in the condition of slavery or as freemen lacking the qualifications of citizenship. In preparing his Annual Message to Congress in December, 1852, he inserted an elaborate discussion of the question, and after reciting the history of the agitation for the emanci-

pation of the black man, and declaring that manumission without colonization could only operate to create a worthless population that would ruin the South and could scarcely be endured at the North, he thus stated his conclusions upon the subject:

Thus having stated the evil, I am bound to offer my views of the remedy. This I do with unfeigned diffidence and with a most sincere declaration that I will cheerfully concur in any other constitutional mode of relief which Congress may see fit to adopt. But after the most anxious and mature consideration of this perplexing question in all its bearings, I confess that I see no remedy but by colonizing the free blacks, either in Africa or the West Indies, or both. This, it appears to me, is all Congress can do. It cannot abolish slavery, it can only invite emancipation by moving the free black from his dangerous proximity to the slave. But this would, beyond all question, offer a strong inducement to manumission, and would enable many to emancipate their slaves who are desirous of doing so, but are restrained by the laws of their states, which forbid emancipation unless the slave be removed beyond its boundaries. Such persons would thus be enabled to gratify their benevolent wishes, at the same time that it would be left entirely to the slave-holding states themselves to determine when manumission should be permitted, or slavery abolished.

This is where the Constitution has left this perplexing subject, and I am convinced that it is where the peace of the country requires that it should remain. But this bare removal of the free blacks would be a blessing to them and would relieve the slave and free states from a wretched population, that must ever be kept in a state of degradation by the prejudice of color and race, whether they reside in the slave or free states. There can be no well grounded hope for the improvement of either their moral or social

condition, until they are removed from a humiliating sense of inferiority in the presence of a superior race, and are enabled to feel the wholesome stimulus of a social equality.

It is true that this must be the work of many years, not to say centuries, for it can only progress as the slave-holding states, who are chiefly interested, shall find it for their advantage to encourage emancipation. It cannot be expected that a social evil like this, which has been accumulating for more than two hundred years, and is now intertwined with all the industrial pursuits of one half of the States of the Union, can be eradicated in a day. Its increase has been insensible, and its decrease should be so gradual as to create no shock. But it cannot be commenced too soon for the good of the country; for the rational philanthropist will see in its gradual accomplishment the only sure mode of relieving the country from this increasing evil without violence and bloodshed, and instead of joining in the fanaticism of abolition, he will patiently await its fulfilment; and the devout Christian, who has longed for the conversion of Africa, and mourned over its idolatry, and degradation, will see in these Christian slaves, emancipated and returned to their own country, the true missionaries of Africa, and recognize in this whole transaction the mysterious wisdom of an Allwise Being who by these means will bring benighted Africa to a knowledge of the Gospel.

In connection with this far-sighted discussion, President Fillmore presented an estimate of the expense which the execution of his proposed plan of colonization would entail, and pointed out the advantages certain to follow its execution. This portion of his message was for some reason suppressed and was never presented to Congress. Doubtless political exigencies demanded that so radical a proposal for the treatment of the vexing topic should not be placed before the

people. The suppressed portion of the message came to light only within recent years, and may be found included in the *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, volume x.—*Millard Fillmore Papers*, edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society, volume i., page 313. The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Severance for this interesting sidelight on the history of the problem.

Lincoln's chief competitor for the nomination in the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860 was the **William H. Seward** man who above all others was considered as the protagonist of the anti-slavery movement, the peerless political leader of his day, the Hon. William H. Seward, twice Governor of New York, Senator of the United States, Secretary of State under two administrations, a student and statesman of superior mould. In a speech in the Lincoln campaign at Detroit, September 4, 1860, he enunciated the following unchangeable expressions of truth regarding the negro problem:

The great fact is now fully realized that the African race here is a foreign and feeble element, like the Indians, incapable of assimilation, . . . and that it is a pitiful exotic unwisely and unnecessarily transplanted into our fields, and which it is unprofitable to cultivate at the cost of the desolation of the native vineyard.

In Lincoln's Cabinet, occupying one of the highest and most responsible positions, was an experienced statesman **Montgomery Blair** from a border state, familiar with the negro character, its virtues, defects, and incapacities, the Hon. Montgomery Blair, of Missouri. In a speech delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, on June 17, 1863, while Lee was entering upon his fateful Gettysburg campaign, the Postmaster-General took occasion to say:

All the early patriots of the South—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, and others—were the advocates of emancipation and colonization. The patriots of the North concurred in the design. Is the faction now opposing it patriotic or philanthropic? Are they not rather, like Calhoun, working the negro question to accomplish schemes of selfish ambition, and, after his method, making a balance-of-power party of a phalanx of deluded fanatics, keeping the Union and the public peace perpetually in danger, and seeking power in the government through its distractions? The author of the Declaration of Independence and his associates declared EQUAL RIGHTS impracticable in society constituted of masses of different races. De Tocqueville, the most profound writer of the Old World on American institutions, predicts the extermination of the blacks, if it is attempted to confer such rights on them in the United States. It is obvious that an election would be a mockery in a community wherein there could be no other than BLACK and WHITE parties. In such communities, reason and experience show that one or the other race must be the dominant race, and that democracy is impossible. . . . They are not ambitious of ruling white men, and will, I believe, be contented to set up for themselves, in some neighboring and congenial clime, on the plan of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Even after the Reconstruction era had set in, and the saner views of the earlier statesmen had been forgotten in the **Ulysses S. Grant** passion of hatred, prejudice, and ignorance which swept over the nation when the fantastic theories of Phillips, Sumner, and Stevens had succeeded to the practical statesmanship of Clay, Webster, and Lincoln, there yet remained one sagacious mind which, although unschooled in political theories, grasped with an intuitively friendly instinct the idea that the welfare of the negro race

depended upon its absolute separation from the Caucasian in the South.

General Ulysses S. Grant, while President, negotiated with San Domingo the treaty which has been heretofore referred to, and in regard to which he said in his Message to the Senate that it was designed to afford a refuge for the unfortunate black population of the South. Recurring again to the subject in his personal memoirs penned in his dying hours, we find him saying, at page 550, in justification of his action in this regard:

The condition of the colored man within our borders may become a source of anxiety, to say the least. . . . It was looking to a settlement of this question that led me to urge the annexation of San Domingo during the time I was President of the United States. San Domingo was freely offered to us, not only by the administration but by all the people, almost without price. The island is upon our shores, is very fertile, and is capable of supporting fifteen million of people. The products of the soil are so valuable that labor in her fields would be so compensated as to enable those who wished to go there to quickly repay the cost of their passage. I took it that the colored people would go there in great numbers, so as to have independent states governed by their own race. They would still be states of the Union, and under the protection of the general government, but the citizens would be almost wholly colored.

The benign purpose of this great American, as eminent in peace as in war, was frustrated by the ill-judged action of the smaller politicians around him, but Hayti and San Domingo still remain, and the black man may yet avail himself of the opportunities which they offer.

Few of our American statesmen of the last quarter of the past

century were gifted with clearer perception of the true foundation of our national greatness, and greater philosophic insight into the character of the measures necessary to secure its permanency than John J. Ingalls, the illustrious Senator from Kansas. He was heartily in favor of the removal of the negro race from our shores. In the *Chicago Tribune* of May 28, 1893, he thus approves the solution of Lincoln:

If this condition is the inevitable consequence of the contact of the two races, separation, voluntary or compulsory, at whatever cost, is the dictate of wisdom, morality, and national safety. If reconciliation upon the basis of justice and equal rights is impossible, then migration to Africa should be the policy of the future. To that fertile continent from whence they came they would return, not as aliens and strangers, but to the manner born. To their savage kindred who still swarm in its solitudes they would bring the alphabet, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bible. Emancipated from the traditions of bondage, from the habit of obedience and imitation, from the knowledge of its vices, which is the only instruction of a strong race to a weaker, the African might develop along his axis of growth and Ethiopia stretch out her hand to God.

The negro might not want to go. He is a native. He is a citizen. He has the right to stay. So he has the right to vote. He has the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He has been deprived of them all. Only the right of domicile remains. He could, perhaps, submit to the loss of this with the same resignation which has accompanied his surrender of the rest. There are vague indications of cleavage. In some regions the inertia is being overcome. Communities are pervaded by aimless agitations like those which preceded the flight of the Tartar tribe across the desert. The "exodus" is an inti-

mation of what may follow. The feasibility of this colonization of Africa, the cost and conditions of a migration so prodigious, its effect upon the civilization of the two continents and the destiny of the two races, are subjects too vast and momentous for consideration.

Turning now from the statesmen of this wiser era, instructed by their well considered expressions of opinion, **Foreign Opinions.** to the opinions of well qualified foreigners, we find that two eminent philosophic observers of our institutions coming from other lands have likewise been of the belief that the logical solution of the negro problem lies in the removal of the race from this country.

In 1832, the distinguished Alexis Charles de Tocqueville visited the United States, and upon his return to France published one of the most acute and comprehensive descriptions of the polity and institutions of the country which has ever been produced, entitled *De la D'mocratie en Am'rique*. This work, upon its production, created a profound impression. It first informed the world as to the general character and trend of American social and political institutions, and with predictive accuracy pointed out many of the weaknesses which would be, and which have since been, developed in our system of government. Since its publication, the work has grown in the appreciation of those familiar with its contents and purpose.

The author had an almost prophetic instinct as to the developments of American democracy, and save only the corresponding work of the Hon. James Bryce, entitled *The American Commonwealth*, his book has not been paralleled as an accurate study of American institutions from a foreign point of view. Indeed, the two works, published sixty years apart, are in a class by themselves.

De Tocqueville's second volume contains a careful study of the negro question as it then presented itself to that philosophic observer. He devotes about forty pages to a discussion of the question, tracing the history and conditions of the negro problem as it stood at that day, and reaching conclusions which the ensuing three-quarters of a century have only served to establish as accurate.

He repudiated all thought of amalgamation, exposed the wretchedness of the slavery system, and foretold the weakness of that institution when subjected to a final test, pointed out how the presence of the negro clouded the future of the South, characterized the establishment of the Liberian settlement, then a novel experiment, as founded upon a lofty and fruitful idea, and, while taking a pessimistic view of the outcome of the problem, could discern in the separation of the races alone any prospect of amelioration.

He says (*Democracy in America*, translated by Henry Reeve, Third Edition; London: Sanders & Otley, Conduit Street, 1838, page 238):

As soon as it is admitted that the whites and the emancipated blacks are placed upon the same territory in the situation of two alien communities, it will readily be understood that there are but two alternatives for the future: the negroes and the whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle. I have already expressed the conviction which I entertain as to the latter event. I do not imagine that the white and the black races will ever live in any country upon an equal footing. But I believe the difficulty to be still greater in the United States than elsewhere. An isolated individual may surmount the prejudices of religion, of his country, or of his race, and if this individual is a king, he may effect surprising changes in society; but a whole people cannot rise, as it were, above itself. A despot who should subject the Americans and their former

slaves to the same yoke might perhaps succeed in commingling their races; but as long as the American democracy remains at the head of affairs, no one will undertake so difficult a task; and it may be foreseen that the freer the white population of the United States becomes the more isolated will it remain.

The Hon. James Bryce, in his great work on *The American Commonwealth*, expresses in like manner a profound
James Bryce. disbelief in the possibility of continuing a democracy based upon such discordant and inharmonious elements. Writing in 1891, he says:

Thoughtful observers in the South seem to feel little anxiety, and expect that for many years to come the negroes, naturally an easy-going and good-natured race, will be content with the position of an inferior caste, doing the hard work, and especially the field work, of the country, but becoming gradually permeated with American habits and ideas, and sending up into the higher walks of life a slowly increasing number of their ablest members.

Our own students of the great problem, especially those of the South, where the lessons of the decades are being gradually impressed upon the minds of thinking men, have not been slow to discover and assert the truth that the only remedy for the evil which afflicts their people is the removal of the African race. It is true that they are doing this in a somewhat halting fashion, frequently discussing the feasibility of the establishment of the negro population in some portion of the United States as a separate community, a plan already discarded as erroneous in theory and impracticable in execution. But the leaven is at work, and with the awakened perception of the need of this great change of thought and the attainability of a more radical solution, will come the foresight and resolution to execute the plan of assisted emigration in an effective manner.

The following quotation is from the scholarly work of John C. Reed, entitled, *The Brothers' War*, published in 1905, whose words indicate a spirit of acceptance of the coming change of attitude (page 413):

Righteousness demands that we give the negro full opportunity to develop normally in self-government. Put him in a state of his own on our continent; provide irrepealably in the organic law that all land and public service franchises be common property; give no political rights therein to those of any other race than the African; compel nobody to settle in this state, but let every black reside in whatever part of the nation that pleases him; let this community, while in a territorial condition and also for a reasonable time after it has been admitted as a state, be faithfully superintended by the nation in order that republican government be there preserved—do these things, and there need be no fear that the examples of Hayti and San Domingo, which were not so superintended, will be repeated.

The spirit animating this passage is worthy of all commendation, but how woefully the execution of such a project would fall short of being a solution of the negro problem!

Mr. William P. Calhoun, of Edgefield, North Carolina, is one of the many other advanced thinkers of the South who have adopted Lincoln's views and who read the future destiny of the negro as depending upon separation from his white competitor. In his interesting and instructive work, *The Caucasian and the Negro*, published in 1902, after analyzing the elements of the question and pointing out the fact that the removal of the negro would bring about an immediate influx of desirable immigrants, he propounds the following solution of the problem (page 145):

It is not desired to deprive the negro of his constitutional

rights or drive him from the United States. It is desired to let him remain in the United States, and enjoy perfect political freedom without interference from the Caucasian. Place him where he will have his own state government; where he can elect his own state officers, United States Senators and Congressmen; where he can vote and his vote will be counted; and WHERE HE WILL BE SEPARATE FROM THE WHITE MAN ABSOLUTELY; where it will be a crime for any white man to live in the same state with him; where he can prove his right to be a freeman, and where, untrammelled, he can show his ability to govern himself, improve his morals, and show that he is the equal of the white man.

In forcible words Mr. Calhoun presents as the alternative of his plan the gradual extermination of the negro race as certain to result from the development of future conditions.

The present-day statesmen of the South, too, are beginning to see a great light upon this subject. Even the belligerent Senator Tillman has progressed so far as to say (Speech in United States Senate, February 23-24, 1903) that, difficult as the proposition of colonization might be, he would yet favor it if it could be shown to be practicable.

Ex-Governor William Dorsey Jelks, of Alabama, in a recent discussion in the *North American Review* **Ex-Governor Jelks of Alabama.** (February 15, 1907) remarks:

I should welcome, on some surprising and sunny morning, the presence of an air-ship at every cabin door to bear these people away to some happy land of their own. We might hope that after a hundred years in this half-way home they would construct and build a government satisfactory for their purposes. A great caravan of air-ships would bring opportunity to the colored man and blessings to the race left behind him. But the air-ship will not come, nor will the South be drained of the negroes, as suggested by Senator Morgan, or, if it is to be drained, the end will be so indefinitely in

the future that it is hardly worth while to discuss the suggestion now.

The ex-Governor need not despair. If he can bring the people of his State to his condition of thought upon the negro problem, a sufficiency of means for the transportation of the negro will be found without resorting to the expedient of aerial navigation.

At least, so thinks the present Governor of Florida, the Hon. Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, who, realizing the disadvantage under which his state suffers by reason of its numerous negro population; in his recent Message to the Florida Legislature presented for their consideration the following suggestion:

There has been no agitation, as in some other states, that the expense of running negro schools should be derived from the assessment and collection from the property of the white people. In fact, no question has arisen to cause any disturbance, yet it is apparent to even the casual observer that the relation between the two races is becoming more strained and acute. The negroes to-day have less friendship for the white people than they have ever had since the Civil War, and the white people have less tolerance and sympathy for the negro. It is my opinion that the two races will not, for any great length of time, occupy the same territory without friction and outbreaks of disorder between the two.

I doubt if education can possibly tend to the happiness of any race so long as it only aids in a keener discernment of the hopeless differences existing between that race and a dominant race in the same country and in the same neighborhood. The educated negro can look back with no pride upon the past history of his race, nor can he look forward to a time when his race can hope to control the politics of the country or regulate society.

I deem it best and, therefore, recommend a resolution

memorializing the Congress of the United States to purchase territory, either domestic or foreign, and provide means to purchase the property of the negroes, at reasonable prices, and to transport the negroes to the territory purchased by the United States. The United States to organize a government for them of the negro race; to protect them from foreign invasion; to prevent white people from living among them in the territory, and to prevent negroes from migrating back to the United States. I believe this to be the only hope of a solution of the race problem between the white and black races, as I can see no ultimate good results that can accrue from the education of a race, without planting in their being the hope of attaining the highest position in government affairs and society. In fact, I can see no reason to expect that any man can be made happy by whetting his intelligence to that point where he can better contemplate or realize the hopeless gulf that must ever separate him and his race from the best things that the dominant race (who employ him as a servant) have in store for themselves. I believe that any person so situated would grow miserable, in proportion as he increased in intelligence. I believe that we should consider the fact that the negroes are the wards of the white people, and that it is our duty to make whatever provision for them would be best for their well-being; and it is my opinion that the above recommendation, that they be given a home of their own, where they can hope by living proper lives, to occupy the highest places in it, thus educating and civilizing them, may tend toward their happiness and good. More especially do I make this recommendation for the good of the white race; to keep sweet the lives of the white people; to keep their consciences keen and clean. It is absolutely necessary to the civilization and Christianization of the world by them. Our children must be able to read the history of our lives and see that it contains accounts of the best lived lives, and that their ancestors were the best people of the earth. Whatever

tends to sour our natures, or that causes us to give way to passion or temper, tends to destroy us, and no cost should be considered in a matter so fraught with danger to the attainment of the civilization and Christianization of the world as will the attempt to compel these two races to live in the same territory.

These sentiments of Governor Broward present the practical views of the most advanced Southern thought upon the situation, and certainly if legislative action of the character suggested by the Governor were taken by Florida and followed by similar requests on the part of other Southern States, the negro problem would be in a fair way to early solution, could the co-operation of the North be secured to carry out his plan.

Nor have the representatives of the African race been content to remain silent upon this branch of the subject. **The Negro's Passages in disparagement of the proposition View.** of colonization from the writings of some of those possessing what little of distinction and emolument the African is permitted to enjoy in this white man's country might readily be quoted. But there are others of more elevated thought, who, with keener discernment of the inevitable injury inflicted upon their race by perpetual subordination to the dominant class, have found occasion to give utterance to the sentiments of that mute, restless, dissatisfied but thinking element of the negro men and women of the South, who are eager to embark upon any reasonable enterprise which offers to them freedom and opportunity.

Many extracts from the writings of prominent negroes of this more enlightened class might be presented. We know that Bishop Lucius H. Halsey, D.D., of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, has been recorded as saying that "the Union of the States will never be fully and perfectly

remented with tenacious integrity until black Ham and white Japheth dwell together in separate tents," and that he is an ardent advocate of the absolute separation of the races.

But above all, as the foremost and most consistent advocate and promoter of the solution of the problem by the assisted emigration and colonization of the negro race, is the learned and venerable Bishop Henry M. Turner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who, from his wide acquaintance with the conditions of his race in this country and in Africa, and by his long study of the elements of the problem in its legal, social, and industrial aspects, is of the men of his race one of the best qualified for leadership in this matter. In a letter to the author under date of January 12, 1907, in speaking of the plan of Lincoln as it was proposed to develop it in this work, he said:

The plan will meet with the approval of all sober thinking people, and it will have the endorsement of the God of the Universe. The presence of the black man in this country is a curse to both races. It keeps the white man lying, stealing, misrepresenting, and the black man abusing, vilifying, and cursing, and neither white nor black can be Christian. I pray God you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged, and move this country to help the negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors.

I know all about Africa. I have been from one end of it to the other. I have visited that continent as often as I have fingers upon my hand, and it is one of the richest continents under heaven in natural resources. This country is not compared to it, and millions of colored people in this country want to go. But to pay our way to New York, then to Liverpool and then to Africa is too much for the little wages the white people pay to our workers. Give us a line of steamers from Savannah, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; Pensacola, Florida; or New Orleans,

Louisiana, and let us pay as much as the million or more white immigrants pay coming from Liverpool, London, and Hamburg to this country, and the negro will leave by thousands and tens of thousands, yes, by millions. And you white people will have peace and Christianity, and the black people will have peace, wealth, Christianity, and be a blessing to the world.

Could the sentiments of this distinguished leader of the Church find lasting acceptance in the minds of his people, and the solicited co-operation of this wealthy country be secured, the baneful negro problem, which has cursed our land for centuries, and which threatens still further to mar our development, would soon be a thing of the past.

In thus perpetuating the testimony of the experts, the limitations of space have required them to be restricted to quotations from the expressed views of those who by experience and official standing are entitled to command weighty consideration. Volumes could be filled with the presentation of the opinions of white men and black men to the effect that this solution of the problem is the only feasible one, and that it should command instant adoption.

Why, then, is it not universally accepted and placed in present operation? Simply and solely, the belief is compelled, because the people of the United States have hitherto failed to realize the danger of allowing the question to remain unsettled, and have lacked proper appreciation of the sufficiency of the resources of our country to accomplish the solution. It requires no small effort of the imagination to forecast the beneficent results which would follow from the departure of the African race from our shores, and its establishment in honorable prosperity in some more favoring locality.

The negro is willing to go. The ineffectual westward movements of the negro population from time to time, some-

times dignified by the term "negro exodus," the steady drift of its more enterprising members to the North, the constant protest against present infelicitous conditions, all clearly indicate a desire on the part of the black man to sunder his existing bonds and to establish himself apart from present repressing influences.

Alike from what has been presented of the opinions of the statesmen of preceding generations, from the enlightened comments of philosophic observers from other lands, from the current recommendations of those qualified to understand the necessity of a solution of the problem, and especially from the appeal of the leaders of the African population itself, we can draw the conclusion that the solution lies in the separation of the races, and that we must not permit a transitory delusion that citizenship and prosperity may yet come to the negro in the United States to continue us in the path of a policy absolutely certain to lead to results not only detrimental to the negro, but perilous to the future welfare of our people.

BOOK IV
The Results of the Solution

CHAPTER I

THE DOOR OF HOPE FOR THE NEGRO

I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it. You may believe that you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your life as easily, perhaps more so, than you can in any foreign country; and hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country. This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case. You ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves. There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us. Now, if you could give a start to the white people, you would open a wide door for many to be made free. If we deal with those who are not free at the beginning, and whose intellects are clouded by slavery, we have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored men, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically oppressed. There is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort for the purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people. It is a cheering thought throughout life that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Address to negroes, Aug. 14, 1862.

IN these few well judged remarks the sympathetic President pointed out to the representatives of the negro race the opportunity then presented to them to assume leadership of their downtrodden people, and the duty devolving upon

them to sacrifice, for the moment, ease and comfort, in order to assure to themselves and their posterity the ultimate benefits offered by his plan for colonization.

In the preceding chapters no effort has been spared to impress upon the reader the weighty character of the problem, the insistent demand for its solution, and the inadequacy of the currently proposed remedies. In the last preceding book, the writer sought to point out in what manner and with what difficulties an adjustment of the vexatious race problem may be effected, and to meet such objections as might be plausibly advanced against the adoption and execution of the plan proposed by Abraham Lincoln. This task having been in a measure accomplished, the endeavor will now be made to establish that the adoption and fulfilment of the plan would be followed by results more than commensurate with the expense and difficulty of carrying it into execution. For in such a weighty matter, concerning the interests of nearly ninety million people, and involving a complete readjustment of economic conditions throughout an important section of the country, as well as the expenditure of immense sums of money for its effectuation, the most careful forethought should be exercised to ascertain what results are likely to ensue from the adoption of so radical a measure, and whether the advantages to be derived will repay the labor and outlay. All the more is this the case as the plan proposed will require on the part of the members of the race most intimately concerned a radical change of attitude toward their future development in spirit as well as in location.

Now, what in general, will be the result of the prosecution of such an enterprise, unparalleled in its character and magnitude in the annals of mankind? Preliminarily, it may be noted that in the majority of plans presented based upon the solution of the

Negro
Betterment
the Princi-
pal Object.

problem through the elimination of the negro, but little heed is given to the result upon the members of that hitherto unfortunate people. Such was not Lincoln's way of dealing with the situation.

In a general way, it seems to be assumed by those advocating schemes of colonization as the true solution that all that is necessary for their success is in some way to get rid of the negro, and that all difficulties attending the subject will immediately vanish, with his disappearance. It is a narrow conception of the character of the problem to believe that if the negro race can in some way be induced to segregate itself from the white population its future welfare is a matter of but little concern, and that the benefits accruing to the locality whence it departs are so certain to follow, that the success of such a remedy is assured. Before taking this for granted, therefore, it is well for us to pause for a moment to examine the question of benefits to be derived, and at the outset to give attention to the effect upon the future welfare of the negro race of so radical a proposition as that of Lincoln.

The discussion may be premised by saying that it would be an injustice to the memory of that far-sighted and sympathetic statesman to consider for a moment that in his project for accomplishing the removal of the negro from this country he regarded our duty toward that race as being adequately performed. So far as the great emancipator had elaborated his theory of assisted emigration, it plainly contemplated the most liberal treatment for the negro during its prosecution, and the continued exercise of watchful care over the future of the race until the success of the experiment was assured.

There was no design in his thought of a base abandonment of a helpless race whose fortunes had been linked with those of the American people for nearly two hundred and fifty years. And in like manner, as the plan of Lincoln has been developed and elaborated in these pages,

it proceeds upon the theory of liberal provision for the wants of the away-going negro, and the most careful safeguarding of his interest as a people, until his ability to establish himself as a nation upon a substantial foundation may be regarded as demonstrated.

Assuredly, the problem is that of the negro himself. To the great majority of the people of the United States,—the white people,—the question is not one of the most pressing and immediate concern, but to every negro, were such a plan as herein advocated put into execution, the question would have an intimate personal interest. It must, therefore, be considered in what manner and to what extent a system of assisted emigration supplemented by colonization would, if accepted, be advantageous to that race.

In a former chapter the attempt was made dispassionately to describe the present condition of the negro race, and to show the exceedingly unsatisfactory character of the relationship now existing between the white and the black people in every section of the country. It is conceded by all that the present condition of the problem is far from one of general hopefulness. The relations between the two races, while perhaps on the surface somewhat less strained than at some former periods, remain, taking the country as a whole, thoroughly unsatisfactory.

In the South the negroes have less friendship for the white people and less confidence in the governing race than at any other time since their freedom was attained, and in like manner, the white people have less tolerance for the negro, less sympathy with his shortcomings, and a decreasing belief in his value as an industrial element. It has been pointed out that in all sections of the country the negro's general progress falls far short of what was confidently expected would follow his enfranchisement.

In the mere question of numbers he is rapidly losing ground,

not by reason of any lack of racial fecundity, but because there annually enters the country an influx of immigration approximately equalling one eighth of the number of his race. From present indications, there will be registered by the Immigration Bureau during the next ensuing ten years a greater number of immigrants than the whole number of negroes in the United States shown by the last census.

The following table shows separately the white and negro population by decades from the foundation of the government to the year 1907, together with the percentage of persons of African blood:

Comparative
Decrease of
Negroes.

Census	White	Negro	Percentage
1790	3,172,006	757,208	23.9
1800	4,306,446	1,002,037	23.3
1810	5,862,073	1,377,808	22.9
1820	7,866,797	1,771,656	22.5
1830	10,532,060	2,328,642	22.1
1840	14,189,705	2,873,648	22.5
1850	19,553,068	3,638,808	18.6
1860	26,922,537	4,441,830	16.5
1870	33,589,377	4,880,009	14.5
1880	43,403,400	6,580,793	15.3
1890	55,101,258	7,470,040	13.5
1900	66,809,196	8,833,994	13.3
1907 ¹	76,756,928	9,947,057	12.9

The striking feature of the foregoing table is its demonstration of the regular and continuous decrease in the ratio of the negro to the white population. This circumstance is, of course, principally due to immigration, from which the negro has gained but slightly in comparison with the Caucasian; but the table clearly presages the diminishing importance of the negro as a factor in our national future, and the increasing hopelessness of his struggle against the adverse influences which beset him at the present time.

¹ Approximate from Census Bulletin 71; Estimates of Population, 1904, 1905, 1906.

It is apparent from the above presentation that the numerical importance of the negro is rapidly declining, and will continue to do so in the future. The prospective increase of the negro population has been made the subject of statistical investigation, and various conjectures upon the subject have been ventured.

Professor Walter F. Wilcox, of Cornell University, a statistician of distinguished reputation, after giving the subject careful investigation with relation to the census reports, arrives at the conclusion that the increase of the race will be much less marked in the future than in the past. After a very elaborate study of the social and industrial conditions affecting the subject at the South, he expresses a general opinion to the effect that the negro as a race is losing ground, is being confined more and more to the inferior and less remunerative occupations, and is not sharing proportionately to his numbers in the prosperity of the country as a whole or of the section in which he mainly lives. It is apparent to any thoughtful mind that under the existing circumstances the outlook for the negro's welfare at the present time, so far as it depends on relative population, is far from cheerful.

The South has been enjoying for the past few years an unprecedented prosperity, in which the negro has had but comparatively meagre participation. The great demand of that section is for immigration, in order that its resources may be developed and its boundless opportunities for business enterprise rendered available. Individuals, corporations, and even the different states are offering inducements to secure white immigration, realizing that as a factor in her industrial development, for the obvious reasons hereinbefore discussed, the negro fails to give satisfaction. So long as the industrial, political, and social circumstances surrounding the negro race in the South retain their present character, its gradual supplanting by white immigrants will

continue, although the process will be much retarded by the negro's efforts to acquire land and education.

Already in many of the Southern States, Northern capital is enlisted, seeking effective labor, and, as we have stated, in many sections Germans, Italians, and other races are taking advantage of the favorable opportunities, so that on the whole it is apparent that, while the extinction of the negro race is not for a moment to be regarded as anything but a remote possibility, the prospects are that its position in the future will be one of even greater subordination than at present, and its opportunities for advancement progressively will become of the most restricted character.

Yet while this outlook is dark, it is not on the whole devoid of hope, as the fact that the negro has displayed such elements of progress under such discouraging circumstances is a favorable harbinger of what he may accomplish in the future if placed in a position where he may find himself unhampered by the narrow limitations with which he is at present circumscribed. His accumulation of property, the progress he has made in education, his religious development during the past forty years; and above all, the feeling constantly being impressed and inculcated upon him that as a race his future development depends upon his own exertions and that disaster waits upon his assuming a dependent position toward the white race; all give augury that, emancipated from the shackles which for centuries have impeded his development, he may yet justify the expectation of his well-wishers, and astonish and confound his enemies by acquiring a real national existence.

Remembering the periods of his progress,—

- (1) Countless generations of savagery on African soil;
- (2) A few generations of toilsome slavery in America;
- (3) Two generations of restricted freedom as a dependent

upon the superior white race, we may trace in these successive stages of race development a training and preparation for the FOURTH and final period, which contains unlimited possibilities for the establishment of a negro nationality.

In a strict sense, while we occasionally speak of the negro as a nation, there never has been an organization of the people of that race constituting a national entity worthy of mention. In this the negro, it is believed, is unique among the races. No matter how feeble or undeveloped other ethnic types may appear, there has invariably been something which may be dignified into acceptance as a national existence, either in embryo or decadence. The negro has hitherto been a race and not a nationality. He has founded no government, established no borders, conducted no wars, negotiated no treaties, and participated in no conventions except those of tribal character.

Japan emerges from her isolation on her islands in the sea, and in fifty years extorts from the world admiration for her scientific, educational, and military development. Even inert, impassive China commands a degree of respect by reason of her integral characteristics. Overpowered, oppressed, and subjected to foreign rule, Ireland, Hungary, and Finland resolutely refuse to relinquish their hopes of nationality. Three hundred years of Spanish tyranny and ten years of "benevolent assimilation" have failed to extinguish in the breast of the Filipino the undying desire that his islands may assume position among the nations of the earth. The Jew, oldest of all the nationalities, scattered throughout the world and prospering in all countries but his own, still in hope of Zionism, turns back in thought to the hills of Palestine, and dreams of his rehabilitation as one of the important nations of the earth.

The negro alone, thus far, has seemed indifferent to the

establishment of a national existence. Subjected to this crucial test, before the final solution of the negro problem can be achieved, the race must give proof to the world that it is capable of a self-sustaining existence and is not to be regarded as a parasitic element, drawing its nourishment from more highly developed peoples.

Here opens for the negro the door of hope. The first and most obvious effect upon the negro race of its acceptance of the proposed plan of Lincoln would be manifested in its higher appreciation by the people from whom it had decided to separate. Let us suppose that the negro people in convention assembled should unanimously memorialize Congress for permission and assistance to emigrate to some suitable location in Africa, pledging on their part an unstinted effort to make such a project a success,—how signally they would be elevated in the estimation of the public of the United States. The development of a national aspiration, the readiness to undertake a difficult enterprise, the desire to achieve real freedom and enduring prosperity, would command at once increased respect and win for the negro in a great degree consideration not now accorded to him.

The discussion incident to such a plan, the overcoming of obstacles to carry it into effect, the acquirement of the political education necessary to qualify the people of the race successfully to establish themselves as an autonomous government, would bring about an intellectual and spiritual exaltation of the race impossible of attainment under their present circumstances. From the day the negro became fixed in his resolve to take his departure, his standing in the eyes of the community would undergo a transformation, and in his own estimation he would stand erect, endowed with the attributes of manhood, no longer a cringing dependent in meek acceptance of inferiority.

In this case, to be resolved is all. In the North, good wishes would accompany him in his new venture. In the South, while some selfish opposition to his carrying his resolution into effect might be expected, the groundless fear of negro domination would pass away. Suspicion would be allayed, race conflicts would cease, and the years of preparation for departure would be quiet and undisturbed, except possibly by remonstrance against removal. And, indeed, it is likely that once the determination to separate were adopted, inducements not now contemplated would be offered to the negro in the South to persuade him to remain. The immediate effect of the resolution to emigrate would in a large measure anticipate the blessings to the race which would ensue from its fulfilment.

Before entering upon the fuller discussion of the advantages to be derived by the negro from a complete removal to a new home, consideration may be given to the effect of some of the minor incidents of the plan upon the welfare of the race. It will not be forgotten that one of the elements of the plan contemplates the establishment of a penal colony for the confinement and reformation of wrongdoers of the African race. The leading reformers and educators of the negro race bitterly complain that their people are judged by the dissolute and criminal few, rather than by the worthy and industrious many. True it is that statistics establish an undue percentage of negro criminality.

Were this debased and criminal element gradually removed from the community, neither white nor black would have occasion to complain. The general feeling existing between the races would become more kindly, the progress of the negro more rapid. His pride of race would be developed, opportunities for temptation removed, the moral standing of the people advanced, and the difficulties of the situation much alleviated. The embarrassment caused to the honest

and aspiring members of the race by the actions of their unworthy and criminal congeners would by this means be obviated, and the work of assisted emigration to a great extent facilitated. That this feature of the solution, if no other part should be adopted, would be a benefit to the community in every section of the country must at once be admitted.

Another feature of the proposed plan, viz., the employment of negro laborers upon all public works outside of the country, would offer to industrious and thrifty negroes an opportunity to establish themselves in favorable circumstances. This, at the present time, would be operative principally at Panama, where the surroundings, sanitary and otherwise, are now of a favorable character, and where the well paid negro could certainly expect to maintain a flourishing existence as a permanent element in the community. Not merely this, but as in the near future the nation is likely to have other governmental work to be performed in Lower California, Porto Rico, Cuba, and others of the West India Islands, this honorable system of employment would in no small degree give negroes an opportunity to escape from the harsh conditions imposed upon them in this country.

Many, too, would see their way clear to adopt individually, as a means of promoting their fortunes, the suggested **Individual Emigration** vision of allowing each member of the race a certain sum of money for establishment in a new home outside the country. Thousands of negroes annually leave the United States for various reasons, going to Mexico, Cuba, and other lands. Let each of these individually receive an adequate allowance for emigration, and hundreds of thousands would doubtless prefer to establish themselves in territory where race discrimination is not enforced against them, and where conditions for their

maintenance are quite as favorable as those prevailing in any section of this country.

Having said this much in regard to the effect of the adoption of the minor features of the proposed plan for the assisted emigration of the negro, let us consider what would be the assured consequence of the successful attempt to establish upon the African continent, in comfort and prosperity, a sufficient number of our African fellow-men to constitute a thriving, self-supporting, and self-respecting state. For this, indeed, is the true solution of the negro problem. This, and this only, will give to that race the three things so ardently desired:

First, political freedom and its accompanying intellectual development;

Second, industrial opportunity, freedom to possess the soil, and to enjoy the fruit of its own exertion; and

Third, the opportunity for mental independence and spiritual development which can only be attained where the first two are in spirit and in truth available.

With the adoption and execution of the proposed plan, the grovelling and submissive spirit of to-day would be followed by an elevation of mind hitherto unknown to the negro race. Enlargement of thought would gradually replace intellectual narrowness, and a rational spirit of religious belief and practice would supplant the present excitable phases of devotional service.

No people ever attained greatness through mendicancy. The misfortune of the negro race in the past has been its dependence industrially, politically, religiously, and educationally upon the bounty of the Caucasian. Indeed, in every phase of its existence it has been the imitator and follower of a superior civilization, and the crux of the situation is to be found in the question whether under the circumstances which would result from the adoption of Lincoln's

plan the race would be found equal to the task of establishing itself upon a self-governing basis.

We ask ourselves this question: Can the American negro, even with the assistance of the generous bounty and intelligent supervision of the United States Government, rise to the height of his opportunity and develop the capacity successfully to establish himself as a nation, and to extend to those of his race in other lands, less favored than he, the blessings and advantages of Christian civilization? His friends give him credit for the ability to accomplish so notable a result, but there are doubters, and their number is legion.

The one thing which causes the writer to entertain doubt as to the ability of the negro race to achieve for itself a position of honor among the peoples of the earth, is the apparent willingness of its members to remain in this land of social ostracism, industrial disadvantage, and political disfranchisement. It must be that the negro lacks the gall to make oppression bitter. Were he of more heroic mettle he would of his own initiative long since have developed plans and leadership for some great movement of the character advocated by Lincoln. The race would have produced protagonists in emulation of the great William the Silent, who, when the prospect of the Batavian Republic for emancipation from Spanish domination appeared hopeless, counselled the abandonment of the land which with infinite toil had been transformed from desolate marshes into fertile meadows, and planned for the embarkation of his people upon the stormy seas, in order that after braving all perils and enduring all hardships, they might establish themselves in the East India Islands, and there resume their career of freedom and prosperity.

Apart from the material advantages certain to result from the adoption of Lincoln's plan, the effect upon the negro character, if it be susceptible of the improvement claimed

by its members and partisans, could not be other than beneficial. The moral effect of 100,000 people of the negro race resolutely setting forth to establish themselves in Liberia as an independent, self-governing community, and thus embarking upon a career of unfettered enterprise, taking with them in addition to the bounty of the government their accumulations of property, establishing their churches and organizing their schools in their new home, would be worth more as an example to the race than a score of Tuskegee Institutes, supported by charitable contributions from the North, attempting impossible results in the midst of a hostile community.

It has always been a noticeable fact that the pioneers of an enterprise of such great magnitude as this proposed emigration rarely fail to develop the most robust elements of character, and it would be difficult to find in the annals of history the record of an exodus of people upon anything like the dimensions projected where the result has not been exceedingly beneficial to the members participating in the enterprise.

Such a solution of the problem would certainly constitute a novel element in the great panorama of the evolution of the nations, and the return of the African to his ancestral home to insure his commercial advantage, to establish his political independence, and with the further and ennobling purpose of extending Christianizing influences to the dark continent, would form a record of grandeur scarcely paralleled in the chronicles of ancient or modern time. The history of the progress of the world is in the history of the migrations of its peoples, ever fluctuating, ever seeking through change of location to ameliorate their material and spiritual conditions. Colonization is the natural outcome of national expansion. It affects the purposes of whole races of men,

and has determined in the past as it will in the future the character of nations and the destiny of continents.

In speaking generally of the effect upon the negro race of assisted emigration for the purpose of enabling its members to better their circumstances, the principal purpose has been to establish the proposition that any projected transplanting which would take large numbers of its members out of the baneful conditions surrounding them in this country, and effect their establishment under more favorable auspices elsewhere, could not be other than conducive to the general advancement of those engaged in the enterprise. But in viewing the subject in its larger relations, we must further consider what would be the effect of such an emigration upon the peoples now inhabiting the territory where the negro would be likely to seek to establish himself after emigration.

It would be a hazardous matter even to attempt a prediction as to in what proportion or in what degree different **The Rescue of Hayti.** available tracts of territory would receive the outpouring of negroes from this country certain to follow the adoption of a policy of assisted emigration. It would seem that the Island of Hayti would be the natural refuge of many of the race. There they would find climatic conditions of the most favorable character, the assured protection of this country, and political conditions under which the genius of the race for government could readily be developed. An emigration to Hayti, such as would be likely to result from the adoption of the proposed plan, should in a few decades transform that disorderly and undeveloped island into a peaceful and productive community.

Imagine, if it may be done, the result of one or two million of the better class of our negro population taking with them in the next decade \$300,000,000 to \$600,000,000 of American money, and investing it in lands in Hayti, developing its

mines, building its railroads, improving its highways, embellishing its cities, and establishing a government at once stable and progressive. What a transformation would be effected by the infusion of that number of the African race accustomed to labor and possessing some foundation of industrial education, and, above all, inspired by the hope of acquiring a true political independence!

Then, at once, the question would be put to the test, never yet fairly applied, whether the African can under favorable circumstances develop and maintain an adequate civilization. For it is at all times to be assumed in this discussion in relation to any migration to Hayti, that the elements to be assisted in their migration there or elsewhere are to be of the worthy and industrious class of our negro population, and that no possibility of friction arising out of their meeting and commingling with the existing Haytian population of their own race is to be considered. The island will be in the future, as it is at the present time, under the protection and control of this government.

In a former chapter, in discussing the subject of the negro's destination, the opinion was advanced that Africa, the fatherland of the race, the great undeveloped continent, presents the most favoring opportunities for its establishment in a line of progressive development. Here in the natural home of the negro lie the opportunities of the race. Africa is the theatre now of the greatest work of reclamation the world has ever witnessed. It has been in the past a land of darkness and mystery, and even with the records of recent discoveries the world is scarcely able to estimate it in its proper relations to the other continents of the earth.

Civilized nations of the world are only to-day waking up to the infinite possibilities of this fruitful quarter of the globe, and the next fifty years, excelling all past progress,

will mark a wonderful development of its abundant resources. It has been demonstrated that large and widely distributed areas are adapted to the occupancy and cultivation of white men. The soil is fertile, in a great part of the interior the climate is healthful, resources are inexhaustible, and all that is needed for its development are the qualities of enterprise and industry. North, south, east, and west, the enterprising white man is forcing his way into the heart of this wonderful continent, subduing its difficulties and obtaining command of its affluent resources.

The Cape to Cairo railway, now in operation for some two thousand miles north of Cape Town, will in the present year enter the Congo Valley, and before three years have elapsed will have been brought to completion from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope. Other railway systems are being projected, developed, and extended, and from present prospects it is no exaggeration to say that before many decades elapse the whole of the African continent will have been parcelled out among the European powers, and its wealth-producing capacity well advanced toward its full development.

The negro alone lags behind. All races except his are crowding into this country of prosperous promise. Immense tracts of its most available territory are now open to him for settlement. In that rich domain, with liberal preliminary assistance, great numbers of the black race could establish themselves with the assurance of a stable foundation for a career of prosperity.

Liberia, as hereinbefore set forth in some detail, offers exceptional advantages, and all that has been said of this readily available territory is applicable in even a greater degree to the Congo Free State. There is room in abundance within its borders for every member of the negro race residing to-day within the limits of the United States, and no

more favorable field can be found for the exercise of the civilizing influences of negroes of American training over the less advanced members of their race.

Conceive, if such a conception be possible, the results to the Congo Free State which would follow the advent of from five to ten million of Africans, after the decades of labor and experience in this country, bringing with them their schools and universities, their printing-presses, churches, language, and other institutions, not only establishing themselves in independence and prosperity, but exercising a beneficent influence, religiously and otherwise, upon the natives of their own race. Here there could be no friction between races. No color line could possibly be drawn. Under the protection of the United States, wherever established, the negro would be free in the coming years to develop his capacity for political organization and to assume his separate and equal station as one of the nationalities of the earth.

Reading in detail descriptions of this African continent, with its undeveloped resources and its peculiar adaptability to the needs of the negro race, and pondering over the difficulties and disadvantages of the emigration project, as well as the benefits accruing from its adoption, the writer has reached the profound conviction that in this direction alone lies the true field of opportunity for the American negro, and that only by establishment upon African soil can the race truly emancipate itself from the restraining conditions which in the past have so impeded its progress.

Can the negro achieve this result? Judged by his past record in Africa, the prospect would be discouraging, but his forty years of accomplishment in the United States give us hope. In the present age of scientific attainment, and with the liberal assistance of our country, prosperous colonies of negroes could be readily established on the African continent. To those

Possibilities
for the
Negro.

who may be disposed to entertain doubts as to this assertion, the writer begs to commend the reading of the account by President Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute of the history of the negro town of Mound Bayou, Bolivar County, Mississippi, published in the *World's Work*, July, 1907.

Here we have an illustration of the black man at his best, and an inspiring example of what in various sections of the country he has been able to accomplish. In the heart of the Mississippi Black Belt, where the very densest negro population centres, and where illiteracy and poverty are the normal condition of the mass of the people, is to be found a locally self-governing community of some four thousand persons of negro blood. This community is the distinctive outcome of negro thrift and intelligent negro leadership. The town of Mound Bayou, about which this exceptional society is distributed, is an incorporated municipality, with a mayor, three aldermen, town marshal, and constables, all of negro blood. A bank with \$40,000 assets, well housed in a brick building, six churches, three schools, a library, and a telephone exchange, give some idea of its business and social conditions. A weekly newspaper is published, and a well conducted loan and investment company testifies to the thrift of the people. The town has an electric lighting plant in operation, is about to install a water supply, and, in addition to other enterprises, maintains three well established cotton gins. No liquor saloons are permitted to exist, the population is orderly, and but little crime demands the attention of the authorities. The general reputation of the town for moral standing is good.

The photographs accompanying the article give the impression of a village of neat stores and houses, carrying an air of general prosperity. While the local government is administered entirely by black men, and meets successfully

the limited requirements of the inhabitants, it must be borne in mind that in the larger affairs of the state and nation the negroes of this model community have no voice. The town and its surrounding country afford an excellent illustration of what the negro can accomplish under favorable circumstances, as the land occupied was not acquired in an improved condition, but was purchased while part of a forbidding wilderness only twenty years ago, and redeemed and brought to its present condition of fertility by the hard, but not compulsory, toil of these aspiring black men.

Can we then say that the negro is incapable of doing in Liberia what he has done in this Mississippi town and in a lesser way in many other localities in the South? Given the same spirit of industry, thrift, and sobriety, with the added inducement of governmental assistance, and the assurance of industrial freedom with political independence, would not the assisted emigration which was the dream of Lincoln open to the negro a door of hope by which he would be enabled to gain entrance to fields of opportunity from which he is now excluded?

CHAPTER II

THE REHABILITATION OF THE SOUTH

To undeceive the people of the South, to bring them to a knowledge of the inferior and disreputable position which they occupy as a component part of the Union, and to give prominence and popularity to those plans, which, if adopted, will elevate us to an equality, socially, morally, intellectually, industrially, politically and financially, with the most flourishing and refined nation in the world, and, if possible, to place us in the van of even that, is the object of this work.—HELPER'S *Impending Crisis*, p. 60.

IN 1857, one Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of North Carolina, writing from a Southern viewpoint, published a work on the slavery question under the title of *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*. Probably no one book, with the exception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had so powerful an influence in moulding the anti-slavery thought of the nation, and in bringing to the knowledge of the people, North and South, the economic fallacies underlying the slavery system, as this production of Helper's. It exercised beyond question a most potent authority, and aroused an intense sectional animosity. Attempts were made on behalf of the slaveholding states to answer his arguments, but all efforts to that end were unavailing, and the slave power was compelled to content itself with the banishment of the author and the denunciation of his book.

The general scheme of Mr. Helper's work consisted in an elaborate comparison of the condition of the free states

with that of the slave states, based upon the census of 1850, followed by an exhaustive inquiry as to the causes of the glaring inequality shown in the progress **Helper's** "Impending of the two sections during the period which had Crisis." elapsed since the formation of the Constitution. The author endeavored to demonstrate that at the inception of our national existence the Southern States possessed decided advantages in extent and location of territory, fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, harbor facilities, character of population, and, indeed, in all the elements which combine to constitute an enlightened and progressive commonwealth. He traced by tables of statistics the gradual retrogression of the South in the race for pre-eminence in wealth and population, and by his elaborate and indisputable mathematics demonstrated that the section once in possession of leadership was at the date of his work hopelessly distanced in the competition.

He instituted separate comparisons between Massachusetts and North Carolina; New York and Virginia; Pennsylvania and South Carolina; greatly to the disadvantage of the Southern States. He presented convincing tables to establish the growing primacy of the North and the non-progressive character of the people of the South.

Space will not permit the reproduction of his convincing statistics in this work. The liberty, however, has been taken to present a few of the more important tables, and there have been added to his figures the most recent statistics on the subject, taken from the compilation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, made in 1904. The purpose of these tables is to set forth the fact that the disparity between the progress of the sections, noted by Mr. Helper over fifty years ago, has continued and is even more marked at the present time than when he made his onslaught on the slaveholding element of the South.

The first table presents the comparison between Massachusetts and North Carolina as to population and wealth at the respective periods mentioned:

TABLE I

MASSACHUSETTS		NORTH CAROLINA	
<i>Population</i>			
1790.....	378,787	1790.....	393,751
1850.....	994,514	1850.....	869,039
1904.....	2,964,013	1904.....	2,004,154
<i>Value of Real and Personal Estate</i>			
1850.....	\$ 573,342,286	1850.....	\$ 226,800,472
1904.....	4,956,578,913	1904.....	842,072,218

The second table presents the same comparison between New York and Virginia:

TABLE II

NEW YORK		VIRGINIA	
<i>Population</i>			
1790.....	340,120	1790.....	748,308
1850.....	3,097,394	1850.....	1,421,661
1904.....	7,907,625	1904.....	12,970,668
<i>Value of Real and Personal Estate</i>			
1850.....	\$ 1,080,309,216	1850.....	\$ 391,646,438
1904.....	14,769,142,207	1904.....	12,127,970,329

The third table presents the same comparison between Pennsylvania and South Carolina:

TABLE III

PENNSYLVANIA		SOUTH CAROLINA	
<i>Population</i>			
1790.....	434,373	1790.....	393,751
1850.....	2,311,786	1850.....	668,507
1904.....	6,719,715	1904.....	1,415,984

¹ Includes West Virginia.

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Value of Real and Personal Estate

1850.....\$	729,144,998	1850.....\$	288,257,694
1904.....	11,473,620,306	1904.....	585,853,222

In each case the foregoing figures eloquently establish the proposition of Mr. Helper that the advance in numbers and wealth has been overwhelmingly in favor of the Northern community. The comparison might be similarly continued between other states with the same unvarying result.

He follows with a table contrasting valuations of real and personal property in the free and slave states, as taken from the census of 1850, to which is appended for purposes of comparison the figures for the same states for 1904:

TABLE IV

Value of Real and Personal Property

FREE STATES	1850	SLAVE STATES	
California.....	\$ 22,161,872	Alabama.....	\$ 228,204,332
Connecticut...	155,707,980	Arkansas.....	39,841,025
Illinois.....	156,265,006	Delaware.....	18,855,863
Indiana.....	202,650,264	Florida.....	23,198,734
Iowa.....	23,714,638	Georgia.....	335,425,714
Maine.....	122,777,571	Kentucky.....	301,628,456
Massachusetts.	573,342,286	Louisiana.....	233,998,764
Michigan.....	59,787,255	Maryland.....	219,217,364
New Hamp- shire.....	103,652,835	Mississippi.....	228,951,130
New Jersey...	153,151,619	Missouri.....	137,247,707
New York....	1,080,309,216	North Carolina..	226,800,472
Ohio.....	504,726,120	South Carolina..	288,257,694
Pennsylvania.	729,144,998	Tennessee.....	207,454,704
Rhode Island..	80,508,794	Texas.....	55,362,340
Vermont.....	92,205,049	¹ Virginia.....	391,646,438
Wisconsin....	42,056,595		
	<hr/>		
	\$4,102,162,098		\$2,936,090,737

¹ Includes West Virginia.

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FREE STATES

SLAVE STATES

1904

<p>California.....\$ 4,115,491,106</p> <p>Connecticut... 1,414,635,063</p> <p>Illinois..... 8,816,556,191</p> <p>Indiana..... 3,105,781,739</p> <p>Iowa..... 4,048,516,076</p> <p>Maine..... 775,622,722</p> <p>Massachusetts. 4,956,578,913</p> <p>Michigan..... 3,282,419,117</p> <p>New Hamp- shire..... 516,809,204</p> <p>New Jersey... 3,235,619,973</p> <p>New York.... 14,769,042,207</p> <p>Ohio..... 5,946,969,466</p> <p>Pennsylvania. 11,473,620,306</p> <p>Rhode Island. 799,349,601</p> <p>Vermont..... 360,330,089</p> <p>Wisconsin.... 2,838,678,239</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> <p style="text-align: right;">\$70,456,020,012</p>	<p>Alabama..... \$ 965,014,261</p> <p>Arkansas..... 803,907,972</p> <p>Delaware..... 230,260,976</p> <p>Florida..... 431,409,200</p> <p>Georgia..... 1,167,445,671</p> <p>Kentucky..... 1,527,486,230</p> <p>Louisiana..... 1,032,229,006</p> <p>Maryland..... 1,511,488,179</p> <p>Mississippi.... 688,249,022</p> <p>Missouri..... 3,759,597,451</p> <p>North Carolina. 842,072,218</p> <p>South Carolina.. 585,853,222</p> <p>Tennessee..... 1,104,223,979</p> <p>Texas..... 2,836,322,003</p> <p>Virginia..... 2,127,770,329</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> <p style="text-align: right;">\$19,613,329,719</p>
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Mr. Helper's classification of states has been followed, but for the purposes of this table Missouri, with its present population of 2,944,843 whites against 161,234 blacks, should properly be included with the Northern States, making the figures for 1904,—\$74,215,597,453 for the white states, against \$15,853,932,268 for the negro states.

After noting (page 81) the significant fact that a part of the \$2,936,090,737 credited as the wealth of the slave states in 1850 is based upon a valuation of human beings, he comments as follows:

What a towering monument to the beauty and glory of free labor! What irrefragable evidence of the unequalled efficacy and grandeur of free institutions! These figures are indeed too full of meaning to be passed by without comment. The two tables from which they are

¹ Includes West Virginia.

borrowed are at least a volume within themselves; and after all the pains we have taken to compile them we shall perhaps feel somewhat disappointed if the reader fails to avail himself of the important information they impart.

Considering the serious import of these words, what would the writer have said if he could then and there have foreseen that after fifty years of further development, and after over forty years had elapsed since the abolition of slavery, the proportion which was then some four to three in favor of the free states would have mounted to about seven to two in the states embraced in the table and over five to one in the nation?

Having with painstaking accuracy established his facts, Mr. Helper proceeds in the following words to deduce what to his mind was the obvious conclusion:

And now to the point. In our opinion, an opinion which has been formed from data obtained by assiduous researches and comparisons, from laborious investigation, logical reasoning and earnest reflection, the causes which have impeded the progress and prosperity of the South, which have dwindled our commerce and other similar pursuits into the most contemptible insignificance . . . may all be traced to one common source and there find solution in the most hateful and horrible word that was ever incorporated into the vocabulary of human economy—
SLAVERY.

Yet, after all, with all his study and research, with all his acumen, with all his patient investigation of facts and high **Mr. Helper's** moral purpose, Mr. Helper went astray in his **Error.** conclusion. Everywhere in his work he prophesied that with the abolition of slavery, prosperity would come

to the South in the same abundant measure as to the North, and that "socially, morally, intellectually, industrially, politically and financially" the South would soon equal, if not exceed, the record of the prosperous North.

He died recently in honored retirement in our capital city, but he was never permitted to witness the beginning of this predicted equality. Clear-sighted as he was for his time, and accurate as was his understanding of the main factors of the negro problem, he mistook an incidental feature for the primary cause of the retardation of the progress of the South. It was not, and is not, the effect of slavery that has been the origin of the manifold shortcomings and economic deficiencies of that section of the country. The negro, slave or free, by his own incapacities and limitations and in his reflex influence upon the white race, has been, and is now, the sole producing cause of the evils so deplorably affecting that section.

Before considering, therefore, how the application of Lincoln's solution of the problem will operate to relieve the South from her present burden of ignorance, incompetency, and crime, to imbue with new life her stagnant politics, build up her waste places, and enable her to resume her rightful place of honor among the sections of our country, let us digress for a moment to ponder over the deeper meaning of a few figures extracted from the census reports above referred to, and from other reliable sources.

A Significant Contrast.

The following table is presented, contrasting in some very important aspects six of the principal Southern States, fairly representative in character of the states of that section, and six equally representative Northern States, selected for the purpose of a fair comparison, it being believed that the states named represent a fair average of the circumstances of the Northern section of the country.

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TABLE V

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING DIFFERENCE EXISTING IN CERTAIN IMPORTANT MATTERS BETWEEN SIX SOUTHERN STATES AND AN EQUAL NUMBER OF STATES OF THE NORTH SELECTED AS FAIRLY REPRESENTATIVE STATES OF THE TWO SECTIONS.

State.	Per cent. of Negroes.	Value of Real Property per Acre, 1904.	Wealth per Capita.	Amount of National Bank Capital per Capita.	Per cent. Illiteracy, Males over 21.	Lynchings, 1908	Prisoners Committed for Homicide during 1904, per 100,000 of Population.
SOUTHERN STATES							
Mississippi . . .	58.5	\$9.42	\$168.79	\$2.12	33.8	22	8.3
So. Carolina . . .	58.4	12.95	178.51	2.90	35.1	1	4.4
Louisiana	47.1	16.84	329.08	6.51	37.6	8	10.3
Georgia	46.7	14.98	237.83	4.04	31.6	16	6.2
Alabama	45.2	13.61	228.54	4.38	33.7	4	6.1
Virginia	35.6	26.18	348.88	6.56	25.3	1	3.2
NORTHERN STATES.							
Connecticut . . .	1.7	\$275.66	\$873.68	\$22.19	6.8	0	1.3
Pennsylvania . .	2.5	229.71	980.85	17.84	7.7	0	1.9
Ohio	2.3	129.78	777.60	14.34	4.8	0	1.9
Iowa	0.6	70.03	1125.03	8.43	2.7	0	0.9
Minnesota	0.3	38.31	1024.99	11.62	4.1	0	0.7
California	0.7	26.67	1671.86	20.66	6.2	1	4.7

The purpose subserved by the presentation of the foregoing table is vividly to place before the reader the facts establishing the intimate connection everywhere manifested between the existence of a large proportionate negro population and a retarded and non-progressive condition of development in the same section. It will be noted from the table that wherever the negro is numerous, land values are low, the wealth of the community is limited, illiteracy and crime exist; and that correspondingly, in the absence of the negro, values are high, prosperity reigns, education is practically universal, and crime shows a diminishing ratio.

This is no mere accident; it is not a casual coincidence that the presence of the negro denotes ignorance, poverty, and crime; that where he is most numerous conditions of life are most unfavorable, and that where paucity of numbers renders him of negligible character, thrift, prosperity, and better moral conditions are found to exist. The two things are inseparably connected. Wherever the negro is, there are to be found backwardness and lack of progress; where the negro is not, there in education, industry, and social development the advance is most rapid.

Now, it is not intended in the presentation of this table, or in the accompanying remarks, to reflect upon the character of the people of the Southern section of this country, nor is the inference to be drawn that the negro is incapable of elevating himself to a higher plane of civilization. The special purpose is to call attention to the patent fact that in all essential developmental respects the Southern section of the country lags far behind the other portions, and to demonstrate that this condition of affairs is the ever-resulting concomitant of the presence of large numbers of the negro race. In the South itself, in sections where the negro forms but a small proportion of the population, improvement is more rapid; but where, as in what is known as the Black Belt, the numbers are greater than those of the white race, progress is exceedingly slow, if, in fact, substantial retrogression is not the real state of affairs.

If further figures were necessary to establish this incontrovertible fact, an examination of the expansion of the railway system of the country, as shown in Bulletin No. 21 of the United States Census Reports, which gives the commercial and taxed value of railroads throughout the country, would satisfy the most sceptical reader. A careful study of this bulletin establishes the great disparity between the railway systems

**Further
Contrasts
between
North and
South.**

of the North and South. Space will not allow a detailed discussion of the matter, but a summary statement discloses the fact that the commercial value of the railroads of the North in 1900 was placed at \$9,362,000,000 and of the South at \$1,882,000,000. The business transacted by these roads shows an even greater disproportion in favor of the Northern section. The contrast is all the more impressive when we remember that the Southern lines are mainly based upon the investment of Northern capital and largely supported by Northern travel.

Consider in addition to the foregoing the amount of money spent for education in the respective sections, and again we find the census tables manifesting in this respect an astounding advantage in favor of the Northern communities. One illustration will suffice.

The following table presents the actual expenditures of moneys devoted to public education in 1903 in fourteen of the largest cities of the country.

TABLE VI

New York.....	\$28,091,477
Chicago.....	8,471,771
Philadelphia.....	5,265,019
St. Louis.....	2,859,163
Boston.....	5,002,024
Baltimore.....	1,848,778
Cleveland.....	2,335,201
Buffalo.....	1,651,403
San Francisco.....	1,333,398
Pittsburg.....	1,737,156
Cincinnati.....	1,151,293
Milwaukee.....	1,079,738
Detroit.....	1,098,632
New Orleans.....	539,636

It will be observed from the foregoing table that the only distinctively Southern city mentioned is the one at the bottom of the list, expending a proportionately insignificant amount

of money for the annual support of its public educational institutions.

One has but to travel in the different sections of the country, and to observe the characteristics of cities and towns, and even more strikingly the rural communities, to appreciate the tremendous advantages possessed by the North in the way of character of population and material prosperity.

The contrast between one of the smaller cities in New England, or indeed in one of the Northwestern States, and one of similar population in a typical Southern community, is most impressive to the observer. In the former section we see broad, carefully kept streets, bordered with houses at once substantial in structure and attractive in appearance, shaded with rows of handsome elm or maple trees. The business structures are substantially built of brick or stone; a handsome public library embellishes the city and gives evidence of the cultured taste of the inhabitants; public buildings of imposing character lend dignity to the transaction of public business; and stores, factories, and dwelling houses present a general air of thrift, prosperity, and contentment.

On the other hand, the typical Southern town or small city is unpainted and ill-kept, rambling and lacking in distinction, architecturally deficient, presenting few signs of thrift, and is marred by its squalid negro quarters. Its streets are usually thronged with idle and shiftless negroes, and we find the *tout ensemble* presenting none of those pleasing aspects so markedly characteristic of the Northern community. All this, and far more than the pen of the writer is competent to describe, distinguishes the section where the negro population is numerous, and where it exercises its pernicious influence over the condition of the community, from those more favored parts of our country where

a lesser proportion of the race renders it an inconsiderable factor.

No one can be unmindful of the astonishing progress which the South has made during the years which have elapsed since the close of the Civil War. Considered with relation to her unfortunate condition at the termination of that exhausting struggle, her recuperation has been nothing less than miraculous, and challenges comparison with the progress made by the North. When, after four years of arduous achievement and untold sacrifice, the defeated veterans of Lee and Johnston sought their desolated homes, the plantations of the South were in a condition of exhaustion, her industries ruined, her credit destroyed, and her governmental system prostrated. A large proportion of her ablest and most vigorous men had laid down their lives in support of her principle of national disintegration, and the outlook for her future, handicapped as she was by the presence of an ignorant, homeless, and landless negro element, was indeed disheartening.

The progress she has made since that hour of despair is, indeed, the marvel of the world. Her wealth has increased from four billion to nineteen billion dollars; her railroads have quadrupled their mileage; her banks have established enduring credit; her cotton crop has more than tripled; and her manufacturing interests have increased more than ten-fold. Her future prospects are of the brightest character, except for the one dark cloud continually menacing the stability of her hardly acquired prosperity.

Let us now turn to consider the beneficial changes which would inevitably accrue to the South by the elimination of

**Benefits to
Accrue to
the South.** the negro as a factor in her social and industrial life. The enumeration of those benefits cannot be made with any approach to accurate statement.

The blessings following from the adoption of the proposed

plan of Lincoln would be so manifold, and would so commingle one with another, and the beneficent effects accomplished would be intertwined in so many ways not at present to be foreseen, that all that can be stated is, that the execution of the plan would to a certainty effect the rehabilitation of the South and her restoration to her former position of equality of leadership in the realms of thought, science, and industrial and political consideration.

Briefly, however, we will review a few of the benefits which would unquestionably follow the adoption and execution of the plan proposed by Abraham Lincoln for the solution of the negro problem by the colonization of the people of that race outside the borders of our country.

(1) IT WOULD DELIVER THE SOUTH FROM THE BURDEN CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF A RACE WHICH MUST BE CLASSED AS INFERIOR AND NON-PROGRESSIVE IN ITS PRESENT CHARACTER.

In the statement of the elements of the problem, the position assumed by the writer was that of declining to enter into a discussion as to the inherent qualifications of the negro race to achieve an independent success, and to enter into the enjoyment of the blessings of civilized life. For the purposes of this discussion, the heretofore stated opinion that under favorable circumstances the negro race will in time develop a capacity for self-government and be enabled to achieve for itself a national existence, is reiterated. But under present circumstances, as they exist in the South to-day, nothing valuable in the way of progressive development will ever be accomplished. And, as frequently emphasized, the elevation of the negro in education and material welfare would only render the condition of the problem the more difficult and dangerous, extending its character from a local to a national irritation.

Handicapped as the negro is by present adverse conditions,

he cannot be expected to remedy his deficiencies and become a permanent benefit to the community. The Southern white man does not expect it, and, indeed, does not want the negro radically to change from his former character. In the words of Ray Stannard Baker, who has recently been making a careful and detailed study of the facts of the problem upon the ground, "The Southern white man wants the new South but the old darky."

The removal of the race would remove the ignoble fear of negro domination, which under various forms is yet the nightmare of the Southern citizen. Nothing is so deterrent of progress, so inimical to the development of the finer traits of human character, as an unworthy apprehension, and for the past four decades, yes, even before the abolition of slavery, the Southern white man has lived in constant dread of the possibility first of a slave uprising, and in later years of a bitter racial conflict. The fearsome shadow of the black man has been cast over every acre of his fair land, and has made it impossible for him either to understand or to appreciate the thoughts and purposes of his dark-skinned neighbor. All this would pass away gradually with the adoption of the enlightened plan now proposed.

The attitude of self-defence forced upon the white man, impelling him to indefensible political methods, the maintenance of harsh social usages, and the resort to daily injustice in the administration of the law, for the conservation of the strictest racial purity, would disappear, and with that disappearance would come a freedom of thought and breadth of political view which, under the present circumstances, are impossible of acquirement.

In an enlightening essay upon the need of a Southern programme on the negro problem, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April, 1907, the Rev. John E. White, pastor of

the Second Baptist Church of Atlanta, Georgia, has this to say upon this phase of the question:

We have always declared that we were the superior race, so much superior and so much stronger numerically and individually that any comparison was odious. It was the truth and it has always been the truth. But if an impartial investigating sociologist should visit the South and go fairly through everything that has happened from the hustings to the capitals, from the Magistrates' Courts to the Supreme Courts, would he not find the suggestion that, though eminently superior in all respects to the negroes, we did not always seem to feel quite sure of it?

The question which every Southern white man should put to himself is this: "How shall we relieve ourselves of this burden caused by the existence of a problem unsatisfactory in the past, unsatisfactory in the present, and daily threatening to be even more unsatisfactory in the future?" To this question but one answer may be given: The Southern white man can emancipate himself only by emancipating his black brother, and this emancipation can be effected in no other way than by the absolute separation of the two peoples.

(2) IT WOULD AT ONCE ESTABLISH THE DIGNITY OF LABOR AND REMOVE FOREVER THE STIGMA WHICH HAS ALWAYS RESTED UPON THE MAN ENGAGED IN MANUAL OCCUPATIONS IN THE SOUTH.

Social and industrial conditions in the old South rendered it impossible for a person of white blood to engage in an occupation of an industrial character, demanding bodily labor of an arduous nature, without losing caste. The whole social edifice was based upon the corner-stone of slavery. The negro was the mud-sill upon which the social edifice rested, and slavery was held to be his natural condition.

And yet of the eleven million of population of the section, by the census of 1860 but 347,000 were slaveholders. Probably less than two million people constituted in all its ramifications the slaveholding aristocracy of the section. Of the residue of the population, some four and one half millions were slaves, the other four and one half millions the constituent known as "poor whites," composed of persons outside of the social pale, a shiftless, unprogressive element, despised by the privileged class of slaveholders, and regarded with contempt even by the negroes themselves.

The abolition of slavery, the introduction of improved industrial methods, the gradual expansion of manufacturing and commerce, with the increasing education of the section, have not altogether dispelled this feeling that the personal participation in agriculture or manufacturing, based upon actual manual labor, is to a certain extent dishonorable. And so long as an uncertain, unreliable, submissive negro population can be relied upon to carry on in indifferent fashion the ordinary work of the community, the true dignity of self-respecting labor will never be fully realized. The wholesome discipline of toil is an element of first importance in the formation of character, and the South has much to learn in the adaptation of its spirit to the new conditions of labor.

Experience has long since exploded the theory that there is anything in the climate of the South which is deleterious to the worker, or which prevents the white man from profitably cultivating her fertile fields by his own labor. Whatever other shortcomings her territory may have manifested, she has never failed in her ability to produce men of stalwart physique, vigorous, enduring specimens of manhood. Certainly no detractor can assert that the quality of the army which held the field in defence of her asserted independence against desperate odds from 1861 to 1865 was lacking in

strength of body or tenacity of spirit. No more enduring and capable body of soldiery ever came gallantly forward to preserve the liberties of a nation. The hardy veterans who followed Stonewall Jackson down the valley of Virginia, and the men from Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi who poured out their heroic blood before the breastworks at Franklin, were models of physical development, possessing superb ability to do and to endure.

The later experience of immigrants in the lower South has demonstrated beyond all question that throughout that richly endowed section there is no difficulty or danger to be apprehended from climatic conditions with reference to her industrial progress. An abundance of testimony could be adduced upon this point. In his *Studies in the American Race Problem*, at page 192, Mr. Alfred Holt Stone points out three points of distinct superiority of the white immigrant over the negro. More might readily be added. So that the removal of the negro would operate to dignify labor, and thus to enhance the material prosperity of the people. Nor is it to be apprehended that life without the services of the African population, with the resulting necessity for the performance of industrial effort, would necessitate the white population engaging too generally in manual labor, and thus retarding the progress of the section. Under the succeeding head the question will be discussed, and it is believed it may be clearly demonstrated that the effect of the proposed plan in this regard cannot but be helpful to all sections of the Union.

(3) THE REMOVAL OF THE NEGRO WOULD OPEN THE DOOR FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE GREAT TIDE OF IMMIGRANTS CERTAIN TO SEEK THE RICH FIELDS OF OPPORTUNITY AWAITING THEIR OCCUPANCY IN THE SOUTH.

The South has suffered, and still suffers, from lack of participation in the benefits of the great immigration which

has so potently assisted in building up the wealth and population of the Northern section of the country. With the fairest and most fertile lands in the United States, with every natural advantage of river and harbor, with an unsurpassed climate, and with every physical element requisite for the highest material prosperity, the South has for generations been retarded in the race for industrial supremacy, and has fallen so far behind the Northern section of the country that its condition is now, as it has been in the past, one of comparative unproductiveness.

This deplorable lack of development must be ascribed solely to the presence of the negro, who, both in slavery and in freedom, by his inefficient labor has degraded all labor, and has made the white man who undertakes to perform manual toil of any description more or less an object of contempt and derision. Slave labor debased free labor; black labor debases white labor.

The ever-expanding tide of immigration from foreign lands entering into our Northern ports either remains in the congested centres of the East or passes on to the North and West, recoiling from the Southern States as though they were afflicted with pestilential conditions. A careful study of the statistics of immigration reveals the fact that of the million or more immigrants annually arriving in this country less than two per cent. find their destination in the South. This tremendous acquisition to the working force of the nation, bringing with it no inconsiderable amount of property, confers practically all its benefits upon the Northern section of this country.

In discussing this subject, a recent writer naïvely remarks:

This continued avoidance of the South by the immigrants is very singular, for the climatic conditions there would

Why Imm-
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Shuns the
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seem to offer special inducements to Italians and others from the countries of Southern Europe.

The suggestion that this is in any manner singular indicates a peculiar condition of mind on the part of the writer of the article. There is nothing singular about it. The solution is in two words, THE NEGRO. Immigration does not go to the South, on account of his presence. White people from Europe, as well as those in this country, do not want to work by the side of the negro. They instinctively shun him and his surroundings. They feel themselves degraded and deteriorated by competition with him. They will not compete with him for employment, and wherever he is numerous they will not go, and they will not be associated with him as workers, except in a few of the lowest capacities. Experience has shown that in the manufacturing enterprises of the South it is impossible to command the services of the two races in conjunction. And so there is positively no hope of rapid progress for the South except through the substitution for the negro race of men of superior qualities, who, inspired by the hope and prospect of elevation, can till her fertile fields, develop her mines, and build up her industrial system.

Another deterring influence working upon the immigrant to prejudice him against the adoption of the South as a residence, is the insecurity of life and property generally conceded to exist in that section. So long as lynching bees are in order, and "night riders" terrorize whole sections of the land, so long as bands of masked tobacco-burners hold sway, and the destruction of property and midnight assassinations are constantly reported, grave difficulties will be experienced in inducing any class of valuable immigrants to settle in a community marked by such a lawless disregard of property and human life. The average foreigner who lands upon our shores seeking to better his fortune is not engaged in a search for a community where such unsatis-

factory conditions exist, and naturally endeavors to establish himself in a locality where his person and property are not likely to be exposed to the dangers of lawless violence.

In addition to these deterring influences, the tone adopted by those seeking to induce immigration to that section of the country is, to say the least, far from complimentary to those whom they solicit. Immigrants are apparently expected upon arrival to assume the general social, industrial, and political condition of the negro. So firmly fixed in the minds of the ruling class is the idea that there must of necessity be an inferior and subordinate element, that the welcome accorded the industrious but unfamiliar stranger is anything but cordial. Should large numbers of ambitious foreigners be attracted to that section while the negro remains, the difficulty of allowing the new-comer to advance himself socially, while the color line remained strictly drawn against the black man, would add to the danger and difficulty of the situation.

The different states of the South are at the present time making unusual efforts to attract the better class of immigrants from Europe. The cry for men to perform the necessary labor in the factories and fields is coming up from every state in that section, with the persistence of the traditional appeal from Macedonia. State assistance to desirable immigrants is promised, committees visit foreign lands for the purpose of studying the subject, and the Southern States Immigration Commission offers special inducements to attract thrifty people to make their homes in Southern communities. Germany, France, Italy, Norway, and Sweden have been included in the tour of a Georgia Immigration Commission, charged with encouraging immigration, and every possible attraction is being laid before the people of Europe to persuade them to establish their new homes in that progressive Southern State.

All will be in vain so long as the negro remains. Some slight results may be effected, but progress in this direction will be exceedingly slow. Let the black man gradually return to his native land, and the problem of immigration for the South will be solved. Immigration almost invariably follows isothermal lines. Scandinavians have been largely instrumental in developing the grain fields of the West and Northwest. Germans and Irish are mainly found throughout the Eastern and Middle sections of the country, and with the elimination of the negro, thrifty Italians, Greeks, and other inhabitants of the populous regions surrounding the Mediterranean Sea would rapidly take their place as the progressive working element in the development of the Southern States.

The completion of the Panama Canal and the coming development of the waterways of the Mississippi Valley, drawing, as they certainly will, large amounts of Northern capital to the South, and stimulating business interests in that section, will surely operate to induce a considerable migration of people from the North to offset the Northward tendency now so perceptible among Southern people.

This gradual replacement of the negro by people of superior racial character would bring about a wonderful development of Southern resources. Her industries would spring into new life, and the natural result of the introduction of a valuable element of this character would be to raise the social and financial condition of those already in possession of her land and other property. No greater advantage could accrue to the South than the departure of the negro, and the substitution of a desirable body of immigrants from the North and from European countries.

(4) THE REMOVAL OF THE NEGRO WOULD AT ONCE RESTORE THE SOUTH TO ITS NATURAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REST OF THE UNION.

From the adoption of the Constitution to the present day the politics of the South have been dominated by considerations arising out of the presence of the negro. As Mr. John C. Reed phrases it in his introductory chapter to *The Brothers' War*, slavery (the negro) introduced an element of heterogeneity into our otherwise homogeneous country. The necessity of developing and protecting this institution imposed restrictions upon freedom of political action in that section, and distorted its normal relations to the rest of the country. This unhealthy political condition has in each recurring decade diminished the proportionate influence of the region below Mason and Dixon's line, both in respect to arithmetical weight and moral authority.

The following table graphically presents the gradual lessening of the South's proportionate representation in the Electoral College from 1789 to 1908, Oklahoma being classified with the South:

TABLE VII

Year.	Northern Membership.	Southern Membership	Northern Percentage.	Southern Percentage.
1789	49	42	54	46
1830	178	118	60	40
1860	194	109	64	36
1876	242	127	66	34
1908	335	148	70	30

The relatively decreasing political importance of the Southern States plainly appears from the foregoing table. Beginning with the first Electoral College in 1789, the South, favored by the provision of the Constitution allowing a three fifths representation for slaves, possessed a substantial equality with the North. Each recurring census and the following apportionment have revealed an increasing pre-

ponderance of Northern representation in the body charged with the selection of the nation's chief executive, until the South now controls but thirty per cent. of its membership. Her decline in this respect has been very rapid for the past four decades, and for the reasons before stated, her actual political weight is even less than the figures would indicate.

The entire section of the country where the negro is numerous in proportion to the whites stands in a false political relation to the institutions of our government. Illustrations of that fact have been given; another and very striking one may be added at this point. Nothing, perhaps, better denotes the ethical progress of our political thought than the growing desire to make public office the opportunity for young men and women of the educated class to enter upon a permanent career of honorable service to the community.

By means of the adoption of the principle of reform in the Civil Service, based upon equal chances for all to obtain appointment and promotion to all but the highest official positions, the National Government has given practical demonstration of the democratic principle of strict equality. Availing themselves of the advantages of the laws passed in conformity with this principle, thousands of white men and women in the North find positions in the federal service in the great departments at Washington, and in the custom-houses, post-offices, railway mail service, and internal revenue offices throughout the country. These official stations not only afford them a secure and comfortable livelihood, but also confer upon them a certain distinction in the estimation of the people of their respective communities. They represent the dignity and stability of a great country.

From participation in this attractive service with its

emoluments the white men and women of the South are virtually debarred. The government can make no discrimination between races at the Civil Service examination, and the young Georgian who would gain a \$1200 position in the Atlanta post-office might find himself compelled to work side by side with a graduate of Tuskegee, perhaps report to him for orders and instruction. Worse than this, any white woman of the South accepting public position under the National Government would, in like manner, expose herself to the hazard of intimate association with officials of the proscribed race. So the result has been that the young white men and women of that region refuse to qualify for service under the government; the places are filled with negroes, who seize with avidity these opportunities to advance their fortunes and to exercise the shadow of authority over the superior race.

Mr. John McIlhenny of Louisiana, the recently appointed Civil Service Commissioner, visited the cities of the South last winter in the hopeless endeavor to awaken an interest in government employment among the young men and women of that section. His efforts were productive of no result, and that whole section labors under the disadvantage of having the better elements of its citizenship practically excluded on racial grounds from local participation in the governmental service of the nation.

The result of the political conditions described in Chapters IV and V of Book II, is the isolation of the South from the political thought of the nation. In discussing the reasons which in 1860 compelled him, against his sentiments of humanity, to refuse his support to the Republican party, Samuel J. Tilden pointed out that the triumph of that sectional organization would virtually impose upon the South a government of one people over another distinct people, incompatible with our democratic institutions.

In a letter of that year addressed to the Honorable William Kent, Mr. Tilden observed:

A condition of parties in which the federative government shall be carried on by a party having no affiliations in the Southern States is impossible to continue. Such a government would be out of all relation to those States. It would have neither the nerves of sensation which convey intelligence to the intellect of the body politic, nor the ligaments and muscles which hold its parts together and move them in harmony. It would be in substance the government of one people by another people. That system will not do with our race.

The language of this statesman of superior mind correctly describes the present condition of the Federal Government in its enforced relation to the South. The remedy lies, of course, in the removal of the negro, the cause of estrangement, the standing obstacle to a genuine homogeneity between the sections. That once effected, causes of irritation would disappear, immigration from Europe and the North would introduce new issues and new view-points, the South would immediately resume her position of influence, and the "more perfect union" of the Constitution would result.

(5) IT WOULD AT ONCE ELEVATE THE MORAL TONE OF THE SOUTH AND CONFER UPON ITS PEOPLE THAT DIGNITY OF CHARACTER WHICH THEY CAN NEVER ACQUIRE WHILE INFLUENCED BY CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE INFERIOR RACE, AND SUBJECTED TO THE NARROWING CONDITIONS RESULTING THEREFROM.

The writer finds it exceedingly difficult adequately to express his sentiments upon this phase of the subject, without incurring the risk of giving unintentional offence. All must recognize the fact that in a peculiar sense the South, in its ideas, sentiments, and prevailing tone of thought, differs radically from the remainder of the country. To the

influence of the negro race this difference must mainly be attributed.

Philosophic observers have noted how the strong imitative instinct of the African impels him to copy the mental and physical characteristics of any race with which he is brought into intimate contact. In our country he imitates the American, in Jamaica he is in manner and speech a black Englishman, in Mexico he displays Spanish characteristics, while in Hayti he exhibits in some degree the qualities of grace and vivacity which distinguish the Frenchman.

Now, this influence of the white upon the black is not without its reciprocal effect. If, in their generations of association, the white man has impressed upon the black his physical and mental peculiarities, so in turn has the negro imparted to his Caucasian neighbor many of his peculiar weaknesses. We hear the effect of the negro influence in the inflection of the voice of the Southerner, we see it in his attitudes and gestures, we feel it in the peculiar manners and customs of the region.

This influence, with the added element of long estrangement of the sections, resulting from generations of bitter controversy over the treatment of the negro, has developed a spirit of isolation in the South almost amounting to latent hostility to the remainder of the nation. The facts set forth in former chapters illustrate this tendency towards provincialism which manifests itself in the literature and politics of the former slaveholding states. The South proudly asserts that it possesses its distinctive literature, and we have already discussed the pregnant fact of its political isolation in methods and sentiment.

Since moral and intellectual advancement are inseparably connected with free political institutions, the emigration of the negro would, by the removal of an incongruous element and its replacement by men of superior quality, bring about

a gradual improvement in the general standards of life in that community. Then would disappear that spirit of intolerance in political discussion in the Southern States, which causes a stirring political canvass almost to constitute a contest of physical prowess. The section would soon be able to rejoice in the abolition of that unfortunate tendency to resort to physical violence on slight provocation, and to justify acts of flagrant criminality by appeal to that survival of savagery dignified by the name of "the unwritten law," which now cause such injury to its fair fame.

These unenviable traits of character, of which the newspapers afford us almost daily examples, are but the unfailing result of centuries of disregard of the rights of the inferior race, reacting upon those who, not accustomed to considering all men as endowed with capacity for social and political equality, find difficulty in according to any true freedom of speech and action. With the exodus of the negro and the substitution of an intelligent and self-respecting labor element, drawn from the North and from European immigration of the better sort, the spirit of devotion to the national ideals would manifest new vigor in the Southern States.

By reason of the unfortunate strife occasioned by the existence of the negro, the South has for upward of half

Moral
Isolation of
the South. a century been a stranger to the higher impulses attending our national development. The figures of the men whose influence has been so potential in the work of transforming a group of jealous, discordant colonies into a harmonious national structure, and of those equally heroic spirits to whose successful efforts we owe its preservation, appeal but feebly to the imagination of its people. The illustrious services of those renowned statesmen of the early Virginia period—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Marshall—are the priceless possession of all sections of the United States. But in that equally valuable

contribution of Northern influence and character, in Hamilton, Webster, Lincoln, Seward, and Grant, the South exhibits but the most insignificant interest.

No worthy representation in marble or bronze of the world-honored Emancipator adorns a Southern city; the mighty presence of the great expounder of the Constitution is unfamiliar to the present generation in the South. Forced into this false attitude toward the development of the higher national life, we find her people compelled to elevate upon the pedestals of heroism the figures of a doctrinaire, whose sincerity of purpose failed to atone for lack of possession of the necessary qualifications of the statesman or administrator; and a distinguished soldier whose personal charm and noble bearing alike in victory or defeat will never blind the future historian to the limitations of military ability which precluded him from commanding victory for the cause which he had mistakenly espoused.

Let us make this point clear. The averment is that the existence of an alien negro element, with its attendant consequences, estranges the section where it is mainly found from the other parts of the country. Only with the removal of that element can that estrangement cease, and closer and more natural relations be formed. With this removal effected, there would no longer be occasion for the Governor of a Southern State to announce to his applauding constituents in formal debate, that he "would sooner live under the Stars and Bars with Jefferson Davis as President than under the Stars and Stripes with Theodore Roosevelt as Chief Executive"; or for his equally prominent antagonist in like manner to refer to the people of the North as "South-haters" and "our enemies."

With the gradual disappearance of the negro under the operation of Lincoln's plan, and the surcease of the pernicious racial strife which has so long operated alienate

the South in feeling from the other sections, this sentiment of latent hostility would vanish, to be succeeded by the fullest rehabilitation, founded upon unity of interest, sentiment, and affection, thus effecting the realization of the "more perfect union" of which our forefathers dreamed and for which they so mightily endeavored.

CHAPTER III

THE REGENERATION OF THE NATION

That our sons may grow up as the young plants; and that our daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple.—
PSALM cxliv., 12.

IN our discussion of the results which would be produced by the adoption and execution of the plan for the solution of the negro problem proposed by Abraham Lincoln, we have considered in the first instance the transformation of character and general emancipation of spirit which would result to the race most intimately concerned in the solution of the problem. We have also given consideration to the ameliorating consequences which the departure of the negro would bring about in that section of our country which from the very inception of the problem has been the greatest sufferer from the presence of this alien, unassimilable race.

We have seen that the consequences of the proposed solution would be the emancipation of the South from the cloud of distrust and difficulty with which it is peculiarly menaced, that its unfortunate isolation would immediately cease upon the adoption and execution of the proposed plan for the removal of the negro race, and that it would no longer continue to be, as it is now, a separate and distinct section and community of the nation. In other words, its character as a non-homogeneous portion of the national domain would pass away, and in the same sense that there is now no distinctive and characteristic feature of difference

existing between the North and the East, Lincoln's solution would efface the dividing line which has existed between the two sections, North and South, from the very origin of our nationality.

In the former chapter entitled "Why Attempt to Solve the Problem at All?" the reasons have been presented which so

**A Homo-
geneous
Nation.** urgently demand that some action be taken in order that the dangers and difficulties therein depicted may pass away. And so, in a general way, this chapter, which discusses the regeneration of the nation and the changes of character incident to the elimination of the negro as a factor in our civilization, will concern itself chiefly with the beneficent results which will certainly follow the eradication of the evils attendant upon the presence of the negro, which it was attempted to place before the reader earlier in the work.

One of the discouraging features of the current discussion of the problem is the tacit assumption on the part of all concerned that the negro must remain with us, and that with him must indefinitely remain all the admitted evils of his presence, however zealously we may seek to lessen them. One after another of those who take it upon themselves to discuss in its familiar aspects the solution of this problem, begin with the statement that, great as the acknowledged evils are, and thankful as we would be to ascertain a practical remedy, we must for all time be burdened with the dangers and difficulties attending the presence of the negro.

In a recent issue of a magazine devoted to the welfare of the Southern community, the familiar note is sounded in this fashion: **THE BLOOD-POISON OF SLAVERY AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE WILL AFFECT THE NATION FOR CENTURIES TO COME.** North and South, white and black, the advocates alike of the negro's education and elevation and the disparagers of his ability to advance himself, all in the same

hopeless and repining mood assume that this great obstacle to the advance of our civilization, this profound difficulty in our educational development, this minatory phase of our political condition, must indefinitely continue to exist, and that the best that we may do is in some slight measure to ameliorate the present situation. It would seem that, after serious study and reflection upon the subject, in the light of the experience of the past forty years, only the purblind or the prejudiced could cling to this antiquated theory, and ignore the fact that the radical solution of the problem may be clearly effected by the adoption of the policy proposed by Abraham Lincoln.

Let us, therefore, for the moment consider what results to the nation would ensue, what generic change of view of the problem would immediately follow the adoption of the remedial measure proposed in this work, viz., the complete elimination of all persons of African blood from citizenship of the country, and their assisted emigration to other soil.

Now, in the first place, it is self-evident that upon this measure being adopted and placed in execution, in the natural development now progressing by which every Caucasian element entering into our body politic is being fused into a homogeneous people, within a few generations we shall present to the world the impressive spectacle of a great people containing no discordant racial divisions. It is no exaggeration to say that all the other problems concerning the eventual character of the citizenship of our nation hinge upon our disposition of the African race.

Let it once be thoroughly understood and appreciated that this is to be now and forever in the noblest sense a white man's country; that only the Caucasian race in its numerous subdivisions is to be allowed to enter into the future citizenship of this prosperous

**A White
Man's
Country.**

land, and all vexatious questions as to Chinese or Japanese citizenship would simply disappear. But so long as we have with us this alien, inferior, and unassimilable element, so long the argument may be plausibly urged that we should admit to residence as well as to citizenship all peoples of the inferior races. The presence of the negro justifies the immigration of the Chinaman. If black menial service is desirable, why not permit the Japanese, who are likely to surpass the negro in his peculiar field, to form a component element of our great national organization?

Once finding ourselves freed from the embarrassment of the presence of the African race in this country, there never would be a question which possibly could arise as to the admission of any people of inferior character to the blessed privilege of citizenship in this American Republic. Then would cease this unenlightened discussion as to what racial elements should be allowed to enter our gateways, and, logically and consistently, only those presenting the necessary qualifications of Caucasian lineage and individual freedom from defect would be admitted to share in our national life.

The result of the adoption and fulfilment of the plan of Lincoln would be to place, as we have already seen, the South in her right relationship to the other sections of the country; her rehabilitation as an industrial, intellectual, and political factor would be effected, and our law-makers would no longer be hourly placed in the vexatious predicament of being compelled either to give peculiar consideration to the demands of a particular geographical section of the country, or to incur the danger of arousing sectional strife. Deprecate discussion as we may, and deeply as we may deplore the result of the continued agitation, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this never-ending disputation over the race question will proceed so long as the clash of two antagonistic races—the one but recently emerged from barbarism, the

other crowned with the triumphs of progress—continues. The discussion cannot be avoided.

Upon this subject the recent statement of ex-Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, himself exceedingly familiar with the problem, may be cited as expressing the absolute inutility of all efforts to stifle discussion. In speaking of the negro question, he says:

The organization of press clubs for the purpose of discouraging the discussion of the question, or the failure of governors to appoint this commission for the same purpose, will have just about as much effect in keeping the people from talking about it and discussing it as telling a hungry man that he is not hungry would satisfy the cravings of his stomach. They may cry harmony, but there is no harmony; they may say there is no problem, but still the problem is there; they may say there is no race question, but the race question is with us.

And so as a first important and much to be desired result, sufficient indeed to justify its adoption if no other ensued, would be the resultant homogeneity of thought, spirit, and feeling among the people of the nation, and the absolute elimination of every serious question of racial character among us. While the solution of the problem would be reaching practical operation, little by little, line by line, precept upon precept, there would be developing in the South a sentiment of nationality in conformity with that existing in the rest of the nation, and for the first time since the slave bark landed its unfortunate freight at Jamestown, the country from Canada to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would be one in feeling and sentiment, and the United States of America something more than a geographical expression.

In considering the removal of the evils brought about by the presence of the negro race, particular attention should be

paid to the effect of negro competition upon those engaged in the more difficult and arduous occupations in the **Benefits to** country. We have studied in Book I, Chapter **Labor.** V, how the industrial rivalry of the members of that race operates to depress the earnings, and, by consequence, the condition of living, of those engaged in occupations in which the negro may to an extent enter as a competitor.

During the past winter the business of transportation was impeded by a prolonged strike among the longshoremen and freight handlers in the city of New York, and as it progressed the daily newspapers contained accounts of the marshalling of bands of negroes, under supervision of the armed employees of the corporations, into what are known as gangs of strike breakers. To state the matter with exactitude, so long as business in this particular industry continues in its normal course, the negro is practically excluded from participation as a laborer by reason of that racial antagonism which we have already discussed, but immediately the situation changes and the white men engaged in the work seek to obtain an increase of earnings by a resort to the method of a strike, the negro is brought into requisition to compel them to submit to the requirements of their employers. Once the controversy is adjusted, the negro speedily ceases to continue his employment.

A little examination of the question will make it clearly appear that wherever considerable numbers of negroes exist, the labor of the white man is correspondingly affected with insecurity, and that so long as by reason of stress of circumstances, ignorance, and the urgent demands for existence, the negro is willing to submit himself to almost intolerable conditions of labor, the wages of the competing white man are correspondingly depreciated. This distinctly appears by a consideration of the condition of peonage which is gradually

being established in one section of the country, and in that section only in which the negro is found; the condition of the laboring rural negro in the lower South being virtually that of a permanent peonage. Any person engaging in ordinary unskilled labor in that section, be he Northerner, Southerner, German or Italian, native or immigrant, is likely to find himself reduced to the same classification as the negro.

The United States Government meets almost insurmountable difficulty, even with the most convincing evidence, in securing conviction in white peonage cases in the South, for the reason that juries selected from the white men of the vicinity, accustomed to consider the negro as a fit subject for punitive restrictions to compel him to perform labor for which he has contracted, are indisposed to render a verdict of guilty against men of their own employing class engaged in similar efforts to control the service of white men.

To one who philosophically considers the situation the reason for this difficulty is clear. So long as the subservient, uncomplaining negro silently submits to the assertion of superiority in others, and voices no effective protest against his degradation, so long will those who control his actions continue to attempt the oppressive subjection of all men who permit themselves to compete with him in the exercise of manual labor.

The belief has been before expressed that, given absolute freedom of action, uncontrolled by the exercise of Northern political power or moral influence, the re-enslavement of the negro would be but a question of a brief period. An acute observer, Professor H. G. Wells, one of the earnest and philosophic students of social affairs of the time, recently remarked in discussing the probable result of contemporary conditions¹:

¹ *The Future of America*, p. 206.

Come but a little sinking from intelligence toward coarseness and passion, and the South will yet endeavor to impose servitude anew upon this colored people or secede—that trouble is not yet over.

Considering the restraining influence above adverted to, and the manifest impossibility with the growing educational development and industrial progress of the negro race of the re-establishment of slavery in any form, his fear is ill founded. Its existence, however, serves sharply to indicate the portentous dimensions of the problem as it presents itself to the foreign observer, and to demonstrate that vigor and common-sense, not reliance upon necromancy, must guide us in our management of this subject. The permanent establishment in any community of an industrially inferior class involves a continual menace to those immediately superimposed, and will always operate as a perpetual clog upon any substantial advancement on the part of the mass of the people.

The South feels this in its sensitiveness to criticism. Even the kindly tempered remarks of Professor Wells, peculiarly free from any suggestion of interest or personal bias, aroused a storm of denunciatory protest from Richmond to San Antonio. If, as has been said, the judgment of foreigners is to be regarded as in some degree expressing the verdict of posterity, this nation can none too soon bring about the effectual solution of the negro problem.

A further element in the regeneration of our nation through the assisted emigration of the negro race would be the complete eradication of the great political evil which has been presented in two former chapters of this work, viz., the unfairly disproportionate representation of the sections of the country in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College. With the decitizenization of the black race and the establishment of

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Conditions.**

a ratio of representation based solely upon effective citizenship, the true principle of representation would for the first time in our history be established.

By this means, and by this means alone, the dignity and integrity of our Constitution as designed by its framers will be restored. The mistakes of the last half-century will be rectified, and for the first time since its foundation the government will become a truly representative democracy. Not only in its constitutional phase is the situation one impossible of continuance, but in its relation to those voluntary organizations known as political parties the suppressed negro vote presents a most serious question.

But a few months ago the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago to select candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. At that convention some twelve to fourteen Southern States were represented in the main by negro delegates, men of no respectable standing in the communities which they assumed to represent; voiceless, voteless, and without influence upon the election. Repellent rumors were in circulation as to the means employed to secure the support in the convention of these non-representative persons. Controlling, as they did, something approaching one-fourth of the votes of the assemblage, their presence was a travesty upon political organization, an affront to intelligence, a degradation to those compelled to associate with them, and a complete demonstration of the impossibility of continuing party government based upon such conditions.

This political problem in the South is one certain to breed danger in the future. There is nothing comparable to it in the Roman Republic, where under the preservation of ancient forms the spirit of liberty in the people was vitiated and their freedom betrayed, or in mediæval history, where in place of genuine political action, fictions and outworn

theories of divinely derived rights constituted the guiding principles of the state. Nothing, it may be safely asserted, can be cited from historical records to equal this hypocritical condition of affecting to treat the negro as a citizen entitled to representation and influence, whereas in reality he has in one manner or another been deprived of every function and qualification of citizenship. This persistent disregard of the eternal principles of truth and justice in their application to the conduct of the political affairs of our country can produce no other result than the degradation of our standards of official action and the eventual subversion of the constitutional principles upon which our prosperity is founded.

A further result of the adoption and execution of the proposed plan of Lincoln would be the averting of the dangers which menace the integrity of the country arising from the presence of this large and rapidly strengthening element of African people. How such dangers may shape themselves, in what manner future trouble may arise, it is, of course, impossible to forecast at the present time. During the period in which the race was in slavery, the most perspicacious minds continually apprehended that in some way then yet to be determined the presence of the black man would bring disaster to the nation. It must needs be that offences will come, but woe unto that man through whom the offence cometh. And how, and in what particular way, the constant violation of the primal principles involved in the suppression of negro citizenship will work itself out in harm to the nation, is a matter yet to be ascertained; but surely, surely malign results will follow our continued infraction of the inexorable moral law.

While in this regard no prediction is hazarded, the suggestion is made that there are numerous ways in which great

national disaster may be incurred. Some of these may profitably be given brief consideration.

First, by a renewal of the strife between North and South, over the ever-burning question of apportionment based upon unrepresented voters, or upon the question of what educational methods should be adopted should the Federal Government, in response to the urgent appeals from the South for assistance, attempt to control the schools, colleges, and universities of that section. It is putting the matter none too strongly to state that if the next Congress should pass, with the approval of the President, a bill reducing the representation of the South in the Electoral College and in the House of Representatives, in proportion to the number of disfranchised negro citizens, in practical operation, reducing its representation in the lower house from 128 members to 79 members, such a sentiment would be aroused in the section affected that but little further incentive would be needed to provoke a resort to physical force. Indeed, it is only the great preponderance in population and wealth of the North that would in such case make the proposition for such reduction in the slightest degree feasible.

Again, while at the present time no great apprehension upon this point may be entertained, if the Northern solution of the problem be energetically attempted, and within the coming decades the blacks of the South be educated and permitted to acquire land and other property, and if they yet continue to be deprived of the franchise, the privilege of the jury box, and the ordinary facilities afforded by common carriers and other public utilities, in such case the danger of a violent uprising of an educated and self-respecting negro population would not be a thing entirely to be disregarded. While from the present appearances there could be no hope of a successful issue of such a revolt, history

admonishes us that the danger of such a servile insurrection is not to be measured by the probability of its favorable result.

The servile insurrections of Rome, the peasant revolts of the Middle Ages, the Irish risings of later years, the Indian Mutiny, and hundreds of other hopeless attempts, including the ineffectual slave risings of the South, all apprise us that the repression of the human intellect will from time to time occasion mutinous revolt, although the prospect of successful result may seem to the dispassionate mind to be exceedingly remote. It is as certain as the night follows the day that the project of enriching, arming, and educating a disfranchised negro population in this democracy is pregnant with danger to the peace of the nation.

Yet another occasion of danger presents itself. We have observed how as the African race advances in material wealth and intellectual progress it reaches out to bring itself in touch with other peoples of kindred character. We have noted how in the language of the leading exponents of advanced African thought the color problem is not one affecting the relations alone of white and black, but that the yellow and red races are called upon to make common cause against the Caucasian.

True it is that in his primitive condition the black man has always displayed the most unflinching loyalty to our country. But given the wealth, education, and the industrial progress which they demand and which may not be legitimately denied to them, and yet debarred from participation in government affairs and condemned to a perpetual condition of social inferiority, the four, five, or even ten millions of sullen and resentful black men of the South would be quite as dangerous an element in the event of a future war with the yellow races of the Orient as would a hold full of mutineers upon a battleship engaged in deadly encounter.

**The
Sympathy
of Color.**

This is not an endeavor to conjure up fictitious dangers. The purpose is simply to point out the fact that the existence of a numerous element of despised, disfranchised, unrepresented, yet ambitious and aspiring people, operates as a tremendous source of peril to any community in which such a population is found, and that only by the adoption of the plan of Lincoln can this perpetual menace be avoided.

And further, perhaps greater than any other of the beneficial results which may reasonably be expected to flow from the execution of the proposed plan for the removal of the negro would be the increase of the feeling of national self-respect which would be the direct outcome of its adoption and successful accomplishment. It may perhaps be said that as a nation we have a sufficiently high appreciation of our merits, and in a certain way we do possess an assumption of superiority largely founded upon our wonderful numerical growth and abounding material prosperity. And yet we reveal from time to time the underlying consciousness that our progress has been chiefly in the field of material advancement, and that our growth in intellectual and moral ideals has not quite kept pace with our increasing superiority in practical affairs.

We display an uneasy apprehension that in our treatment of the negro, North and South, in the methods by which in one section we relegate him to a life of menial service and social isolation, and the methods by which in the other section we are gradually reducing him to the condition of a disfranchised serf, we are doing violence to our democratic ideals, and that, thoughtfully considered, our conduct in this matter is a species of hypocritical pretence. Whatever the shortcomings of our conduct toward the negro may have been in the past—during his days of slavery and in his half-acquired condition of freedom—we are guilty of injustice

and double dealing in maintaining our present attitude toward that unfortunate race. We extend to it the promise of education, social equality, and political freedom, with no intention of allowing it to realize its fulfilment.

It has been pointed out in earlier chapters how this situation has been forced upon us, how by those controlling laws of nature whose effect can never be safely disregarded we have been compelled to assume this dissembling attitude toward the negro, and that in the nature of things there is no reasonable likelihood that a change for the better in this regard will ever occur. And thus it follows that our regeneration can only be effected by his removal. So long as he remains in our body politic, we never can become truly free from this disquieting consciousness that we are compelled by the exigencies of the situation to violate the finer instincts which should regulate our conduct.

The wrong and injustice which we have inflicted, and in a large measure which we are daily inflicting upon the members of this feebler race, will of necessity react upon us. By the workings of a great undefined but inexorable moral law, our unjustifiable treatment of our black brother will entail upon us and upon our descendants to remote generations, evils greater by far than any which might possibly ensue from the immediate adoption of the policy of assisted emigration.

Our attitude toward this question is accurately characterized as being hypocritical. In one breath we affirm the equality of mankind, and in our constitutions and statutes pledge state and nation to the practical recognition of this equality by allowing the negro, in theory, participation in our political affairs. As a matter of fact, as has been abundantly demonstrated, he is absolutely deprived of all such participation. We know this, we condone it, we submit to it, and we are of necessity hypocrites in this regard. And

as in the individual life no lasting success can be won except by honest effort proceeding from a life which in itself stands square with the principles of righteousness, and as moral ill-health will paralyze every effort and render sterile and fruitless all exertions not based upon rectitude, so in our national life, unless our treatment of this race does embody a truth and can be justified by principles of square dealing, we can look for no other result of this hypocrisy than an impairment of our self-respect and a constant debasement of our national ideals, working out the progressive degeneration of the political morality of the people.

Whilst we permit this negation of democracy, and tamely endure this hourly source of embarrassment and humiliation, we cannot place ourselves in position to do our best, either for ourselves or for the generations to follow us. We know our weakness, and the world knows it. It belittles us in all our relations with foreign countries. It lowers their conception of our political institutions. It lessens their respect for our individual character. It detracts from the growing respect with which our nation is regarded since we have assumed our rightful position as one of the great powers of the earth, and essayed to assume a leading part in the drama of the nations.

We here encounter another embarrassment. Our nation is now face to face with certain troublous questions involving future extension of our citizenship, problems of the gravest import. We have acquired, and will continue to acquire, certain outlying islands and tracts of territory essential to our safety and prosperity, largely peopled, however, by members of inferior races. Nothing in the books of fate is more clearly written than that our sphere of influence in the Caribbean Sea will be extended until all of the islands surrounding it, and such portions of the main-

The Question of our Dependencies.

land as may be essential for us to acquire, will be brought under our control.

We have already acquired Porto Rico. For the past ten years we have controlled the destinies of Cuba, are now in possession of that fertile island. No matter what temporary arrangement may be made by way of futile experiment in self-government, Cuba will rightfully remain from this time forth a dependency of this country. By the recent treaty with San Domingo, we have assumed responsibility for the control of that portion of the island of Hayti, and are regarded by the world as guarantors of the conduct of the Haytian Republic. By the narrowest margin, but a few years ago, we failed to acquire the Danish West Indian Islands. We have planted our flag at Panama in control of the great interoceanic canal, and there we shall likewise remain. In brief, it may be asserted, with substantial accuracy, that we have assumed the direction and control of the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and as the years roll on, the extension of our governmental functions to the mainland of that region is inevitable.

Further than this, in the Pacific and in the far East, at Hawaii and in the Philippine Islands, we have assumed the regulation of great numbers of alien peoples. As they successively become dependencies or possessions of this nation, their demand for citizenship will be advanced. Hawaii sends her delegate to Congress and participates in political conventions. Already Porto Rico clamors for recognition as a part of our domain, and demands rights of citizenship which cannot logically be denied. We stammeringly answer, deferring decision, well knowing that the character of the population of that island is not such as fits it for citizenship in this progressive nation.

The countries mentioned above possess a population of some twelve to thirteen million souls, and if allowed repre-

sentation in our national legislature, would be entitled to return to Congress some fifty or sixty representatives. This must strike the reflective mind as an impossible situation; and yet so long as we allow the African the precious boon of American citizenship, logically we are in no position to deny it to the better equipped population of our dependencies. We must adopt one or the other horn of the dilemma; either confine our citizenship to the Caucasian race or else subject ourselves to the perils and embarrassments of conferring it generally upon those alien and mongrel peoples whom, for reasons affecting our safety and prosperity, it has become our destiny to control.

The probabilities are that the eventual political relation of the islands mentioned, and such parts of the adjacent mainland as our interests or safety may demand should be brought under our control, will be that of autonomous dependencies. They will be accorded such measure of political freedom as their development may justify, but will be shielded by the United States from all foreign interference by having their diplomatic relations conducted and their financial affairs supervised by our government.

The decitizenization of the negro, effecting his elimination as a factor in our national life, would leave us immediately free logically to deal with the people of our present and future dependencies, and to frame and develop for them some adequate system of government not involving their elevation to the rank of citizens of the United States.

The foregoing considerations are quite exclusively of the material order. The effect of the adoption and successful execution of Lincoln's plan upon the nation's general tone of thought and elevation of sentiment would be even more marked than its influence upon its material advancement. By the successful transportation of the race to Africa, and by its establishment there in

comfort and prosperity, with the prospect of overcoming the grave obstacles which hitherto have prevented the introduction of civilization into that great continent, we should establish a precedent heretofore unknown in the annals of the peoples.

The prestige gained by the beneficent performance of a duty of this unprecedented character would far more than repay all required effort and expenditure. If in the coming years we are to have augmented consideration as a factor in the civilization of the world, nothing could be better calculated to win for us a high place in the estimation of the nations than the results which would follow the successful performance of this gigantic task.

Our international standing would be tremendously enhanced. We would then present to the world the spectacle of a nation fertile to design, resolute to execute, beneficent of purpose, and successful in accomplishment. We would at one stroke effect the deliverance of our country from the menace of the existence of this alien and unassimilable people, and by returning them to their native soil would insure the beginning of the redemption of Africa, and the introduction to that hitherto benighted land of the hope of material prosperity and the assurance of Christian civilization.

Assuming that forty years were required for the successful accomplishment of the great project, at the close of that period we should have in this country a population of probably 140,000,000 persons of the Caucasian race. In the mean while, we would have successfully transported to the African continent, and established in prosperous circumstances, a people whose natural increase should at that time bring them to the numbers of some twenty million, and who, if possessed of capacity for progress, would by that time have successfully demonstrated the wisdom of the undertaking. Race conflicts would have ceased; Atlanta massa-

ces would be a thing of the past; we should have within our borders no despised and menial race, no population of disfranchised serfs; we would be able to regard with pride our final disposition of the negro question, and would through this righteous solution occupy an exalted position in the eyes of foreign nations. Our own feeling of relief would be a gratifying result, and generations of the African race would rise up and call us blessed.

Can it then be questioned that the elevation of national sentiment which would follow the successful operation of the proposed plan would far more than outweigh any possible expense and difficulty in its execution? Consequences of favorable character, not now foreseen, would follow from the settlement of this vexing question. Those indefinite and imponderable benefits which would result from the clarifying of the spirit of the people, would be found of greater value to the nation than any mere material prosperity proceeding from the retention of the negro among us.

All right-thinking men must feel that in its present condition this unsolved problem is an element of degradation to our national character. We have a self-confessed incapacity to deal with this momentous question. We shirk its difficulties and endeavor, ostrich-like, to ignore its existence in the vain hope that by some unforeseen interposition its dangers may fortunately pass away. The thoughtful foreigner appreciates its menacing importance and commiserates our condition.

In his philosophical work already referred to, Professor H. G. Wells expresses his appreciation of its comparative importance, as contrasted with a question now occupying the attention of England, in the following manner: After describing his discussion of the subject with President Booker T. Washington, in which, following President Washington's expression of his belief in the possibility of

the two races living harmoniously together in the community, he says:

I argued strongly against the view he seems to hold that black and white might live together, mingling, without injustice, side by side. That I do not believe.

And then he sums up his final impression of the question, to which he devotes an interesting chapter under the title of *The Tragedy of Color*, as follows:

After I had talked to him, I went back to my club and found there an English newspaper with a report of the opening debate upon Mr. Birrell's Education Bill. It was like turning from the discussion of life and death to a dispute about the dregs in the bottom of a teacup somebody had neglected to wash out in Victorian times.

To one who wishes to arrive at a clear understanding of the aspect in which this negro question is viewed by an imaginative and sympathetic foreigner, accustomed to regard social questions from a philosophic standpoint, this whole chapter in *The Future of America* by H. G. Wells is respectfully commended.

Socially, the section most intimately associated with the problem would at once regain needed courage and sanity. Politically, we should at once rise to a higher plane, conscious that the all-provoking cause of dissension between discordant sections of our common country was removed. Industrially, North and South, the removal of the menial and the strike-breaker would elevate the condition of all workers, skilled and unskilled, and add to the dignity and efficiency of the lower and less desired occupations. The unsatisfactory relations of the sections would be readjusted, and the South restored to her natural relationship, while the North would be freed from the unworthy attitude of placid submission to an acknowledged political wrong. The tone

and temper of the primary, the convention, and the election booth would be immediately elevated by the elimination of a vote which in one section has always been associated with corruption, and in another with suppression, either by fraud or violence.

To accomplish these results, to bring about this elevation in the national thought, to remove the evils attendant upon the presence of the negro race, would far more than compensate us for the outlay of \$100,000,000 a year for a few passing years. Indeed, such a sum would be an insignificant amount to pay for the securing of the material benefits, to say nothing of the advantages of a moral character, which would necessarily follow the removal of the negro.

The insurance statistics for the year 1906 recently published show that the old-line insurance companies in this country received during the year premiums to the amount of \$526,000,000. Would not one-fifth of this sum, annually set apart as an insurance to the nation against the present and prospective evils attendant upon the presence of the African race, be considered as an exceedingly profitable business transaction?

In one of his public addresses, the late John Hay expressed the sentiment that in this country nothing could long endure which was at once wrong and unprofitable. The remark has a cynical flavor, but expresses in a blunt way that combination of righteous purpose and the expectation of material benefit which form a resultant of effectual effort among the American people. All thinking minds concede that the present condition of the negro race, North and South, is unsatisfactory, and that the treatment to which its members are of necessity subjected is wrong when judged from any respectable ethical standard.

In like manner, it has been made equally clear in the foregoing pages that neither to the North nor the South is

the presence of the negro a profitable asset in our national economy. This wrongful condition conflicts with our economic development and retards our moral progress. Like the slavery of antiquity, it debases all moral standards, and counteracts every effort toward advancement in Christian civilization.

Could we but enlarge our imagination to behold the nation as it might be, unified, expanded in spirit, and regenerated by the adoption of Lincoln's solution of the negro problem: a nation freed from the ignoble necessity of daily self-deception and futile hypocrisy; a nation existing in the broadest and noblest sense as a white man's country; could we but regard these possibilities as they shaped themselves to the prophetic eye of that master student of the negro question, we would consider no effort too arduous, and no outlay too extravagant, which bore the promise in the end of emancipating our country from the evils resulting from the African element in our population.

CHAPTER IV

ELEMENTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

A democracy, to be a success,—and we are trying it here on a hitherto unprecedented scale,—depends on the intelligence of the average citizen. Wherever civic intelligence and initiative are low, democracy becomes impossible, and an oligarchy or an empire takes its place. The United States has had to suffer and is still suffering untold miseries from the reckless introduction, for purposes of material gain, of an alien people, to wit,—the African negro. The same arguments were used for the admission of negro slaves that are now used for the admission of the cheapest European and Asiatic labor. Wherever a superior and an inferior race are brought together, one must rule; and one will withdraw itself, socially and politically, from the other. When this happens, universal democracy ceases to exist, and no amount of preaching the rights of men or any other theoretical considerations will modify the result. This result has already happened in the South; and in the North society is beginning to experience a social stratification which is breaking up its former homogeneity, and which is affecting profoundly the matter of race survival.—PRES-COTT F. HALL, *Immigration*, p. 176.

IN the development of his plan for the solution of the negro problem, Abraham Lincoln saw with unclouded vision the effect upon the other great questions awaiting future adjustment in American citizenship, of the presence of the alien negro element in our national life. In his elaborate argument upon this subject addressed through Congress to the people of the United States in his annual message of December 1, 1862, to be found in his published works (vol. ii., p. 261), he says (p. 275):

With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market,—increase the demand for it and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor.

Throughout his published state papers, in all references to his proposed solution, we find an intense appreciation of the influence which the presence of the negro race was to exert upon the future character and standard of American citizenship. Always earnest in his encouragement of the immigration of those qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of membership in our national household, he nevertheless recognized that the presence of the negro exerted an unfortunate interference with the symmetrical development of the sections of the country and with the natural expansion of our territorial area.

Now, as then, the question of immigration is one of the deepest national concern. It not merely involves our present

safety and prosperity, but is to shape the character of the generations which are to follow us.

Immigration and the Negro. As we deal with it wisely or foolishly will be determined the ultimate traits of the great composite race which is now in process of development in the United States. With this aspect of the problem of immigration, the presence of the negro is inseparably connected, and the influence of the existence of ten million people of the African race in the country has been, and will continue to be, a very important factor in moulding the character of our future citizenship.

Few nations, either in the past or present, can be said to be constituted by people even approximating a pure racial type. All have been more or less the result of the fusion of various diverse elements, and even when originally of a high

degree of racial purity, the subsequent introduction of foreign elements has always radically modified the primitive stock.

Of the prominent nations of the present day, England is perhaps the best representative of a thoroughly composite people. "Saxon or Dane or Norman we, Teuton or Celt or whatever we be," sang Tennyson of the English nation. He might have gone further in his ethnological study and pointed out that the present Englishman is the result of the crossing of many different racial stocks, almost every nationality of Europe being included in the blending which has produced the distinctive type of English national character.

France presents a substantially homogeneous population at the present time. It requires, however, but the slightest historical investigation to ascertain that in the composition of the typical Frenchman are included Celtic, Latin, and Germanic strains of blood, long since inseparably commingled. In a somewhat less degree this may also be asserted of the German and Italian peoples. Through the long centuries of migrations, voluntary and involuntary, of the various elements of European population, has come about the solidification of certain national traits, giving to each of the more important nations its distinctive character.

We are now engaged in the serious work of shaping the character of our future national population, the quality of which is already fairly well determined, as the American type has become clearly differentiated from those of the other nations of the world. From present prospects within the next few decades the general substantial characteristics of the citizenship of the nation are certain to be decidedly modified by the influx of illiterate and physically defective immigrants from Eastern Europe. It, therefore, becomes us to pay especial heed to the selection of the elements which are to enter into the finished product of our nation-making experiment.

The history of our country is the history of immigrants and immigration. Prior to the establishment of the independence of the country the colonization had been of a generally homogeneous character, the greater proportion of the colonists being made up of men of English blood, with some considerable additions of Irish and Scotch and a slight dash of French Huguenots. In New York there remained a strong element formed by the descendants of the early Dutch settlers, and in Pennsylvania a considerable infusion of German blood lent variety to the character of the population.

Character
of Early
Immigra-
tion.

The general character of these colonists is well known. By force of the circumstances surrounding their coming, they were of the hardy and enterprising breed. The difficulties of transportation, the hardships and dangers awaiting the newcomers, conflicts with the aboriginal inhabitants, and the arduous task of surmounting the obstacles interposed by nature, rendered our forefathers in every respect a people of remarkable qualities of mind and body. The exceptions to this high standard of character and ability were few and inconsiderable. Some criminals had been shipped from the mother country to the colonies, but with this exception and, of course, the further exception arising from the importation of negro slaves, the men who came forward with patriotic fervor at the time of the Revolution to establish their liberties were of a high order of mental and physical qualifications.

For the half-century succeeding the establishment of the government, there was comparatively little immigration to the country. The few immigrants arriving were of the same general ethnic character as the original colonists, coming principally from the British Isles. It is a mistake to assume that the original policy of the founders of the government of this nation was that of throwing its doors open to the oppressed of all nations, and of admitting without

restriction all persons desiring to take advantage of our newly created institutions. From the very foundation of the government there has existed strong opposition to the admission of alien foreigners, and the privilege of citizenship was, in the early days, as a rule, carefully guarded.

While it is true that the American people have always been ready to welcome the politically oppressed from other lands and to afford an asylum of liberty to all worthy men and women seeking refuge from tyrannical conditions, it was never the intention to invite the evil consequences certain to follow the introduction of an increasing flood of undesirable and unassimilable elements.

Washington is on record as doubting the advisability of a policy of encouraging immigration, and Jefferson, although in full sympathy with the efforts of other peoples to achieve a larger degree of freedom, expressed his wish that an ocean of fire might be interposed between this country and Europe, so that it would be impossible for any more immigrants to come hither. There never has been a time in the history of the country when a large proportion of its thoughtful people were not keenly alive to the evils following unrestricted immigration, and anxious to prevent the land from being inundated by the outcasts of other nations.

Before the middle of the last century, the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, and the downfall of the revolutionary movement of 1847-8 throughout Europe, brought about a much increased immigration, mainly of a character markedly inferior to that which had hitherto taken place. These immigrants introduced new and lower standards of living and of thought, and as they were principally of a lower grade of intelligence, and many of them unfamiliar with the language of the country, their coming aroused the most intense antagonism. This awakened opposition to unrestricted immigration resulted, in the year 1854, in the formation of

the Know-Nothing party, whose purpose was rigidly to restrict immigration, and so far as possible to preserve the country for those then in occupancy and their descendants. The illiberal creed of this organization did not commend itself to the wiser minds of the time, and while in the elections of that year and the next it gained some notable successes, it had but an ephemeral existence, and, with all other minor questions, the effort to exclude foreigners was quickly forgotten in the stress of the great Civil War, resulting from the efforts to restrict the spread of the negro throughout the territories. During the war time Lincoln sagaciously promoted immigration, and the sturdy newcomers from Ireland and Germany contributed largely to keep the ranks of the Northern armies full.

From that time to the present, what little opposition there has been to immigration has been directed more to the establishment of restrictions based upon quality than to the complete exclusion of any class of would-be immigrants. With the exception of the exclusion by statute of the Chinese, and the recent agreement with Japan to restrict the entrance of her subjects, who have always been in a measure regarded as undesirable acquisitions to our national family, no barrier of a distinctively racial character has been erected.

It is commonly assumed that the rapid increase in the numbers of the population of the United States as shown by each decennial census has been almost entirely due to the great volume of immigration coming to our shores. That such is not the fact indisputably appears when we proceed to examine the statistics of immigration for the different decades. Prior to the year 1820, during which for the first time the number of immigrants coming to the country was made a subject of statistical investigation, immigration was of only the slightest conse-

Statistics
of Immi-
gration.

quence, the newcomers certainly numbering not more than from five to ten thousand a year.

The statistics following the year 1820 to date are as follows:

TABLE I

IMMIGRATION BY DECADES, 1821 TO 1908.

1821 to 1830.....	143,439
1831 to 1840.....	599,125
1841 to 1850.....	1,713,251
1851 to 1860.....	2,598,214
1861 to 1870.....	2,314,824
1871 to 1880.....	2,812,191
1881 to 1890.....	5,246,613
1891 to 1900.....	3,687,564
1901 to 1908 (eight years).....	7,001,940

The following table displays the rapid increase during the past decade:

TABLE II

1899.....	311,715
1900.....	448,572
1901.....	487,918
1902.....	648,743
1903.....	857,046
1904.....	812,870
1905.....	1,026,049
1906.....	1,100,735
1907.....	1,285,349
1908.....	782,970

It clearly appears from an examination of the census records that up to the time of the breaking out of the Civil War the population of the country had exhibited a very even and regular ratio of increase. With all the immigration of the period from 1840 to 1860, the former ratio of increase had not been exceeded. Those who have given the subject the most careful examination have reached the conclusion that had this immigration not taken place the population

by natural increase would have shown quite as rapid an augmentation.

General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Tenth and Eleventh censuses of the United States, gave to this subject careful examination, and drew from his studies the conclusion that as the increase in population resulting from immigration up to 1845 was very slight, in fact, almost inconsiderable, the population would have increased in an even greater ratio in the next succeeding decades had no immigration whatever occurred. His conclusion, based on extended experience and profound reasoning, is, that at that period the physical and mental qualifications of the American race were at a high point; that it was rapidly reproducing itself as it spread throughout the country; that the result of the succeeding immigration was simply to reduce the standard of living, and that the inevitable result of the introduction of a prolific foreign element was the decline of the birth-rate of the native population, due to the working of a principle which has been felicitously termed the "Concentration of Advantages."

By this phrase is meant that as the immigrants from Ireland and Germany who came in the forties and fifties gradually supplanted the native population of the Eastern States in agricultural and manufacturing operations, and introduced a different and inferior standard of manners and living, the latter, rising in the scale of luxury and ease, and confining themselves more strictly to the more lucrative occupations into which the immigrants had not entered, adopted habits of life resulting in an abstention from marriage or its postponement until later in life, and further in the voluntary limitation of the number of children. Unwilling to abase their standard of living to meet the competition of the newcomers, they chose to limit their responsibilities of parenthood and to concentrate on a few children the attention and

care that former conditions had allowed them to devote to many.

This condition of affairs has continued with constantly accelerated effect. As each stratum of immigrants, representing a lower standard of comfort, intellect, and prosperity, has come into the country, it has entered as a wedge at the bottom of the social structure, lifting in turn the strata above, until, as this uplifting continues, marriages among the native population become correspondingly infrequent and the birth-rate constantly decreases. At the present time statistics show that among the population which, strictly speaking, might be regarded as native, namely, those persons of marriageable age whose grandparents were natives of the country, the birth-rate is not sufficient to even maintain the present numbers.

Look about you, if you please, for a moment, and ascertain what proportion of your friends and acquaintances who occupy positions of standing in the community and who are, according to the above definition, members of the native population, in the first place, remain unmarried, and secondly, of the married how few have more than two children, just sufficient to maintain the present numbers of population. The universal result of such a computation will be the development of an astonishing condition of infecundity. A few statistics upon the subject are presented.

Professor Walter F. Wilcox, of Cornell University, from a study of the Census of 1900, draws the conclusion that the native birth-rate is rapidly falling. He finds that at that time the number of native white children under five years of age, in proportion to each 1000 women 15 to 44 years of age, was as follows: For cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants, native mothers, 296, foreign mothers, 612; for smaller cities and the country districts, native mothers, 522, foreign mothers, 841. As this reckoning includes the children of

comparatively recent immigrants, the showing is somewhat startling.

The report of President Eliot of Harvard University for 1902 goes into the subject with care. He shows that out of 881 graduates of the classes 1872 to 1877, inclusive, 634 were married and had surviving 1282 children, and 247 remained unmarried. The only possible conclusion to be drawn from his investigations is that the class from which these graduates were drawn for some reason fails to perpetuate itself.

Similar investigations conducted at other institutions of learning reveal even more astonishing conditions of infecundity among the graduates.

Contrast this state of affairs, if you will, with the condition which prevailed throughout the country three-quarters of a century ago,—from Revolutionary days down to the outbreak of the Civil War,—large families among the New Englanders and in other sections of the country being the rule, and small ones the exception. From the very beginning of our history until the swelling tide of immigration inundated the country, the native stock was as fruitful as the Israelites of old who multiplied and replenished the land. Benjamin Franklin was the fifteenth of a family of seventeen; Thomas Jefferson the third of a family of eight; Daniel Webster the ninth of a family of ten; Henry Clay the seventh of a family of eight; Henry Ward Beecher the eighth of a family of thirteen. Great Jonathan Edwards was the thirteenth child of his parents; Charles Sumner the oldest of a family of nine. Consider the Beechers, the Fields, the Washburnes, and hundreds of other families that might be mentioned, where the numbers were great and the quality high, and we see by contrast with present conditions what a change has come over the character of our population in this regard.

There recently died at New Haven, Connecticut, a dis-

tinguished clergyman, the Reverend Leonard Woolsey Bacon, the fourteenth child of his distinguished father, who, in turn, was also the fourteenth child in his father's family.

So there is sufficient warrant for the statement that the introduction of the immigrant has not been, strictly speaking, an addition to the native population, but rather a displacement. Lincoln's estimate of the growth of population, contained in his annual message of 1862, was based upon the theory that the increase of the native population would continue, and in the degree that our actual numbers have fallen short of his conjecture it may be attributed to two causes, which he did not take into consideration. First, the increasing sterility of the native population, arising from the causes just discussed, and secondly, the effect of the destruction by wounds or disease of over a million of the most vigorous young men of the country who fell on both sides during the Civil War, resulting in a tremendous impairment of the virility of the nation which has never yet been, and probably never will be, completely made good.

There can be no question that the character of the immigration during the past three decades has been of a markedly inferior character to that prior to the year 1880. This cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Allan McLaughlin to be found in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. lxiv., page 233, January, 1904, where he says:

Good physique was much more general among immigrants a quarter of a century ago than among the immigrants of to-day. The bulk of the immigrants previous to 1880 came from the sturdy races of northern and western Europe, and not only was good physique the rule, but loathsome, communicable or contagious disease was extremely rare. . . . With the change in the racial character of immigration, most marked in the past decade, a

pronounced deterioration in the general physique of the immigrants, and a much higher per cent. of dangerous disease is noticeable. . . . The immigrant recorded as having a poor physique is usually admitted.

The truth of the matter is that our early immigration was almost entirely of the best element of the countries whence it came, which countries in themselves were substantially those whose ambitious spirits had established the colonies, and that up to the time of the Civil War our population was essentially of a homogeneous character. Since that period the character of our immigration has radically changed in its racial qualities. Both as to race origin and individual qualifications, a markedly inferior element has been introduced, and the time has now arrived when in the interests of the production of a high order of American citizenship the standard of admission applicable to all immigrants should be greatly elevated and reasonable restrictions based upon race distinctions adopted.

Every element of value in the country demands that this be done. The observant American who goes abroad and travels through the prosperous countries of western Europe is struck by the high degree of comfort and prosperity enjoyed by the working classes. He wonders whence comes this undisciplined horde of immigrants to our shores. They in no manner resemble the people whom he has seen engaged in their vocations on his travels, and he is unfamiliar with the fact that this immigration, differing from that of the earlier period, is not a natural migration of the more enterprising spirits of the nations of Europe to our favored country, but is rather composed of the dregs and incompetents of the respective countries, whose removal is at once a favored method of relieving their native country from their support, and a

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source of commercial advantage to the steamship companies engaged in their transportation.

This should be thoroughly understood by all, and in like manner, the restrictions which have been imposed upon the immigration to this country of the unassimilable Chinese and Japanese races should be rigidly maintained. Great credit is due to the foresight of the labor unions in insisting upon the provisions of the Contract Labor Law, which prevents the importation of what is known as "cheap labor" into this country. Our people are beginning to realize the fact that in this matter of immigration quality and not quantity is what should be insisted upon, and that the reprehensible result of the indiscriminate welcome of the lower class of people of other lands to citizenship in this country will be the degradation of our national character and the serious impairment of our material prosperity.

It is true that there are now, as there always have been in this country, those who present the argument that the United States has need of a constant supply of what is called "cheap labor." They confidently assert that in order to assure our steady advancement in the path of commercial greatness we must have always at hand a servile, unambitious, plodding class of people, who may be compelled to do the rough, hard work of the country at small wages, and who are willing to exist upon a cheap scale of living.

The African was the first race to be brought to the country under the operation of this theory, and the result of the introduction of the negro race, as set forth in the preceding pages of this volume, cannot be regarded as forming a satisfactory precedent for further experiments in this direction.

Following the negro, the Chinaman was looked upon in some sections as affording, by coolie labor, the necessary cheap but effective working element to bring about this result, but

wise legislation soon checked this menace to our civilization. At the present time the favor with which Japanese immigration is urged by some theorists upon the subject unfamiliar with the characteristics of the Mongolian race, as well as the effort to bring in from the pestilential quarters of eastern Europe a class of low-living immigrants to be exploited in the sweat-shop or in the coal mine, sufficiently indicate the attitude of those who urge the necessity for cheap labor.

We have, unfortunately, among us some few men engaged in manufacturing, mining, or other commercial enterprises who would not be averse to flooding the country with a stream of illiterate Poles, Turks, Syrians, Arabs, and South Russian peasants, if thereby the expense of labor in their respective industries could be decreased. For a mess of immediate pottage they would barter away the birthright of succeeding generations.

In a recent newspaper article, Hubert Howe Bancroft, the historian of California, restates the old argument in favor of introducing Chinese and Japanese labor throughout the country. He argues that the comforts of civilization and the progress and prosperity of the country depend upon the existence of a low grade of laboring population. And following his article, newspaper comment indicates that his views have quite wide acceptance.

Those of the older generation will remember the prediction of the late Henry Ward Beecher, made some thirty years ago, in deprecating the advanced general education of young people of both sexes, to the effect that the educational advantages then offered were sufficient, as in the future the country would need a helot class rather than such an addition of specially educated citizens. The sting of the famous Morey letter, which caused General Garfield the loss of the electoral vote of the Pacific slope in 1880, and which seriously menaced his prospects of election, lay in its expression of

sentiments favoring the introduction of Chinese cheap labor, which, if not those of its reputed author, were certainly entertained by many of the strongest interests supporting his candidacy.

With this view of the necessity for a cheap labor element of practically disfranchised citizens, no enlightened person, proud of the beneficent effect of our institutions, and hopeful of the part which this country is destined to play in the coming advancement of humanity, can be in sympathy. The nation is even now beginning to awake to the danger and deterioration which lie in unrestricted immigration, and the present Congress has recognized this trend of public opinion by adopting amendments to the Immigration Law which promise to be of considerable value in debarring undesirable elements from entrance.

Not only this, but the National Commission, appointed under the Immigration Act passed by Congress February 27, 1907, has made a careful investigation of conditions existing in the countries whence this immigration is mainly derived, and its findings and recommendations soon to be presented to Congress will doubtless be used as a basis for future restrictive legislation upon the subject. No result other than that of a recommendation for more stringent restriction can be expected. It would be well for the nation if the immigration which for the past four years has averaged upward of 1,000,000 were reduced one-half by intelligently administered regulations as to race and quality, as the remaining 500,000, being of more desirable character, would be a valuable acquisition to the country, and would be quite as many as can be assimilated by the present population in its fluctuating condition.

But so long as the negro remains a constituent part of our citizenship, and so long as his cheap and ineffective labor is at hand to be utilized by those desiring the introduction

of cheap labor, so long as recourse to him as a strike-breaker is to be had in every recurring trouble affecting unskilled labor, so long can we present no logical argument for the exclusion of any class of undesirable European or Asiatic immigration.

Deplorable as is the result to our Eastern cities of the introduction of the undesirable population of eastern Europe, still more deplorable would be the introduction of Japanese or Chinese laborers in large numbers into the country, and yet more deplorable is the retention of the negro, against whom there exists a more violent racial aversion, and who labors under far greater disadvantages in attempting to advance himself than either of the other two elements under discussion. For, however undesirable he may be, the European immigrant, arriving with his family, will in some way, before many generations, effect a complete assimilation with those who preceded him across the ocean. The assimilation may reduce the average quality of our citizenship, but it will be at least complete.

The inevitable result of a continuance of our present indifference as to quality will be a lowering of our standard of citizenship. We see it daily in our lessened respect for Sunday observance, in cunningly conceived efforts for the evasion of salutary laws, in the unfair competition in business, and especially in the establishment of the sweat-shop and in the working of little children in factories and mining operations. But even with all these drawbacks, the assimilation, injurious though it may be, would result in but one class of citizenship.

The Japanese and Chinese laborer, if allowed to come here, brings with him no family and effects no permanent result of advantage in the community; a mere bird of passage, he comes and goes, taking from the country his earnings, but leaving some valuable results of his labors. But, as

already stated, no effectual restriction of the benefits of our citizenship can be logically enforced so long as the argument may be advanced that if the negro is qualified for citizenship, all other races must be admitted to share that invaluable privilege.

With the exception of the constant outbreak of race conflicts in the South, there is at the present time but little prospect of the danger once so greatly apprehended by those who beheld the differing racial elements which, converging upon our shores, were destined to make up the composite American people. A half-century ago the apprehension was entertained that animosity would arise between the native population and the Irish, between the Irish and Germans, or among such other antagonistic racial elements as might enter, attracted by the advantages of the country.

Experience has, however, dissipated all apprehensions of this character. The English, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians have rapidly coalesced, and by almost imperceptible degrees assimilated themselves into the ideal American type. The outbreaks of violence resulting from racial animosity between these various races have been but few in number and inconsiderable in result. Even the Know-Nothing agitation, which was accentuated by considerable religious prejudice, did not result in any especial outbreaks of violence, and at the present time the assimilation of the older, preponderant elements of population has become so complete that unconsciously we disregard the nationality or creed of any individual with whom we have relations unless some race trait or religious inclination is peculiarly marked. Each of the different strains of blood wherever numerous has left its stamp upon the character of the community, and with the sole exception of the negro, each is rapidly, but almost insensibly, becoming lost in the blending of the new American race.

In addition to this objection to the addition of unworthy elements to our citizenship, it is especially undesirable that there should be resident in this country any large alien population refusing naturalization. The members of such a colony look to their home government for assistance and protection, and are certain to arouse lively resentment in the breasts of citizens with whom their interests may clash, which in turn is likely to result in international complications.

The peculiar character of our political organization leads to constant embarrassment. We assume by our treaties to assure to the subjects or citizens of foreign powers the full protection of our laws. But when the local authorities of a state or municipality refuse to perform these international obligations, or individuals violate the treaty rights of alien residents, we are obliged to confess that the Federal Government possesses no compulsive power for their enforcement. The present agitation in relation to the treatment of the few Japanese upon the Pacific coast is a signal illustration of this imperfection in our political organization. The difficulty is not confined to our country, for wherever an alien population endeavors to intrude in competition with citizens, and especially to underbid them in the labor market, the natural instincts of self-preservation are sure to produce serious friction.

But it may be argued in opposition to this view that it would be impolitic at the present time to limit immigration, for the

The Negro and the Immigrant. reason that while in Northern communities there is nowhere a special demand for new immigrants, and indeed in the larger cities and more thickly settled communities the contrary complaint that there is an undue proportion of newcomers among us arises, yet that the South needs immigration and that every effort should be made to secure desirable immigrants to supply the needs of that section. It is true that there is an exigent demand for the

labor of men in the factories and fields and mines of every state in the South, and that the most strenuous efforts are being put forth to secure thrifty immigrants throughout every section of that part of the country.

The *Atlanta Constitution* says that immigration is to-day the watchword of Southern progress, and every important newspaper south of the Potomac is urging with all its power the efforts of the community in which it is published to attract to that section home-seekers whose physical constitution, character, and training will ultimately fit them for American citizenship.

The state of South Carolina took up the matter officially in 1906, and brought to Charleston a shipload of some six or seven hundred Belgian immigrants, whose passage was paid by the state. Considerable difficulty arose with the Federal Government over what appeared to be a violation of the Contract Labor Laws, but the immigrants were landed, and it was then supposed that the work of replenishing the labor supply of the South was fairly under way. And yet further immigrants did not come, while large numbers of the original body left the state dissatisfied.

The Honorable Hoke Smith, then newly elected Governor of Georgia, with a committee of other Georgians, visited Europe during the spring of 1907, for the purpose of studying the immigration problem, and of endeavoring to turn some portion of the tide of foreign immigration into his state. Upon his return the Governor-elect spoke very hopefully of the prospect of inducing desirable elements from Europe to settle in Georgia. No practical results, however, followed his efforts, and immigrants do not seek the South. Some little may be accomplished in isolated instances, but in the large all efforts to add in this way to the working force of the South will be fruitless.

In the first place, the attitude of the South toward the

immigrant, as disclosed by the newspapers in that section of the country and by the sayings of its public men, is such as to repel his coming. The theory of the promoters of immigration in the South is substantially that the newcomer is to be introduced to supplant the negro, and as a permanent peasant class. It is assumed that he is to do the hard work of the South, while the present Southern white population is to enjoy the rewards of his labor. This attitude in itself would be enough to forbid his coming.

In his report to the Mayor of Charleston on the subject of attracting white immigration to the South, Mr. P. H. Gadsden, one of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of that city, who visited Europe for that purpose in 1907, said:

We have for so many years been employing negro labor that we have come to think that the class of labor performed by the negro is menial to a large degree, and, therefore, we are not prepared at the present time to treat the immigrant supplanting such a negro on the same terms as he is treated in the North and West.

But even were the attitude of the Southern landowner, manufacturer, and business man toward the prospective immigrant of a more liberal character, so long as the negro remains in the South no immigration to that quarter of any valuable character can be expected. This results from three cogent reasons:

(1) The natural antipathy which the Caucasian in Europe, as well as in this country, entertains toward the negro, which will always prevent him from taking a position upon the same level with the black man. The world's experience establishes that if these two antagonistic races are brought together under circumstances compelling competition, one or the other will establish complete domination, and the unsuccessful rival withdraw from the field.

(2) The presence of the negro in the South, with his low standard of living, his ignorance and ineffectiveness as a mechanic, his necessitated willingness to work for meagre wages and to submit to almost any imposition of the employer, will make it exceedingly difficult for the white immigrant to enter into the field of labor competition with him wherever he is numerous. So long as the negro remains, the white landowner cannot advantageously rent his land to the coming immigrant, and the white laborer cannot expect the wages which prevail in the Northern and Western sections of the country. This handicap will remain, and no amount of effort to induce immigration can succeed until the conditions arising from the presence of the African race are radically changed.

(3) The much-longed-for stream of industrious and intelligent immigration will not allow itself to be diverted to the South until intending settlers are better assured of the protection of the laws in that section. They have heard and read of the deeds of violence perpetrated upon the negro population by those who are endeavoring to induce immigrants to replace that unreliable race, and will be very slow to trust themselves in the hands of those whose reputation for violence is so fully established. In like manner, also, the oft-repeated statements of the white leaders in the South that the character of the negro is such that in the rural districts it is unsafe for the white man to leave his wife and children at home unprotected are certainly not calculated to induce the home loving and affectionate family man, constituting the better class among immigrants, to take up his abode in any Southern community.

The disadvantages to which the immigrant is subjected in the Southern section of the country are not unknown to those abroad who intend seeking new homes in the United States or unfamiliar to the authorities of foreign countries.

The recent Emigration Law of Italy gives the government of that kingdom the power to prevent emigration to any country where conditions are unfavorable to the welfare of Italian citizens, and under its provisions the authorities have forbidden emigration to Mississippi, on the ground that conditions there prevailing do not afford adequate security to intending settlers.

During the summer of 1907 the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American steamship lines refused to consider the proposition of the Southwestern Immigration Conference looking to the development of New Orleans as a station for the reception of immigrants. The reason given by the officials of the companies for their action was, substantially, that so many bitter complaints of harsh treatment by employers of labor had been made by German and Austrian immigrants to that section, that until this condition was remedied they would refuse to promote immigration.

Once, however, the solution of Lincoln was adopted, and the displacement of the negro from the South had begun, with the assurance that it was to be a permanent policy; once the tide of emigration from the South had been set in motion toward the African continent, and the nation's faith pledged to its continuance to the utterance; then room would be found for millions of industrious and capable immigrants from the better sections of Europe, who would gladly avail themselves of the multiplying opportunities and attractions to be found in the development of the South.

Have we, then, a moral right to exclude the immigrant, as well as to eliminate the negro from citizenship, where the welfare of the future millions of the American race demands such action?

The answer cannot be better expressed than in the words of the late Reverend Phillips Brooks, whose perfect poise of judgment and beautiful Christian spirit give transcendent

weight to his words upon this momentous question. Listen, then, to his clearly outlined statement as to our rights and duties upon the question of the admission of alien elements to our American citizenship:

No nation, as no man, has a right to take possession of a choice bit of God's earth, to exclude the foreigner from its territory, that it may live more comfortably and be a little more at peace. But if to this particular nation there has been given the development of a certain part of God's earth for universal purposes; if the world in the great march of centuries is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it.

We are to develop here in America a type of national character, we believe, for which the world is to be richer always. It may be the last grand experiment of God's wandering humanity upon earth. We have a right to stand guard over the conditions of that experiment, letting nothing interfere with it, drawing into it the richness that is to come by the entrance of many men from many nations, and they in sympathy with our Constitution and laws.

Yes, many men of many nations, but all of the best types, and only those who readily fuse into the great comprehensive American citizen. The right to admit involves the duty to reject. Upon us rests the responsibility of seeing that neither by the admission of those disqualified seeking to enter, nor by the retention of those disqualified desiring to remain, shall the character of this chosen people undergo debasement, and the ideals and institutions founded and preserved by the infinite sacrifices of those who have preceded us be imperilled.

CONCLUSION

THE task of the writer is finished. His ambition has been to place before the thoughtful public of the country a description of the existing condition of the negro problem as it affects our national welfare, and to state the methods by which the solution proposed by Abraham Lincoln might be successfully carried into effect. The purpose has been to present a practical working remedy for the evil, as far removed on the one hand from the continuance of present intolerable conditions, as on the other from a mere counsel of perfection impossible of attainment. In what measure success has been achieved those who may read the work will best be able to render judgment. If the discussion has appeared perhaps too prolonged, the only excuse the writer has to offer is the transcendent importance of the subject, requiring the fullest consideration of the delicate and complicated interests involved. In the words of the annalist of the Maccabees, the writer would modestly say in submitting his work: "and if I have done well and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desire; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto."

But one word remains to be added to what has gone before. We are rapidly approaching the celebration of the centenary of the birth of the man whose name in the public thought is inseparably associated with the emancipation of the negro race from slavery. In the shadow of his imperishable memory we will shortly pause for a moment to

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renew our expressions of faith in those principles of democracy of which he was the illustrious exemplar.

Already in press and pulpit, in forms of art, in educational preparation, and in the speech of the people the greatness of this coming celebration is foreshadowed. On the 12th of February, 1909, the people of the great Northern and Western sections of the country will suspend their daily duties and in holiday spirit proceed in manifold ways to do honor to the memory of him who stands pedestalled with Washington, heir of eternal fame,

The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire.

Assembled millions of school children will listen to the description of his life of unsurpassed devotion to his country's service; eloquent speakers at the banquet hall and on the platform will extol his superlative virtues and with patriotic oratory endeavor to impress upon their hearers the lessons of his inspiring career. Pulpit and press will vie in eulogy of his memory, and the humble site of his birth-place will be marked by the dedication of a magnificent mausoleum erected by the contributions of loving citizens in commemoration of the event of such profound importance to the American people. All that the reverent homage of a grateful nation may render in affectionate and appreciative recognition of the nobility of his character and the abiding value of his services to humanity will be laid at his feet.

And yet the house remains divided. Beyond a perfunctory recognition of his kindly human attributes and an occasional acknowledgment of his unusual political ability, the South will remain unmoved by the great celebration. The negro, everywhere excluded from participation by the spirit of caste, if he rejoices at all will do so in separation, and can find but little in the event to encourage him toward a

hopeful future. He cannot readily forget that in studied phrase the President-elect announced to the world at the North Carolina dinner in New York on December 7, 1908, his acquiescence in the negro-disfranchising methods prevailing in the South, and, assuming that these have effected the temporary elimination of the race problem, has made his futile bid for the political support of the white men of that section upon other issues. What consolation is it to the disfranchised black man of the South for Mr. Taft to qualify his acceptance of the suppression of the negro vote by vaguely outlined requirements of fair and equal administration of the law as between the white and black races? For all men know that the Southern negro will never have an equal chance to qualify himself for the franchise, and that the formal abandonment by the coming administration of any purpose of enforcing the great war amendments will serve as the reading of the warrant for the political death of the negro.

The South so understands it, and the newspapers of that section commend the utterances of the President-elect as the final announcement of the negro's relegation to his position of permanent subordination and the formal acceptance of the failure of the policy of reconstruction.

In this dark hour of the negro's condition, from far-off African shores, where actual freedom for a few members of the race still exists, come the Liberian envoys soliciting the intervention of the United States to preserve the integrity of their little state from the threatened boundary aggressions of France and England. Though adverse circumstances menace their political existence, and they find themselves constrained to implore assistance from the powerful country responsible for their feeble nationality, they deport themselves with all the dignity becoming to men engaged in an honorable attempt to maintain their national independence.

In temperate language the envoys deplore the conditions of oppression and unjust discrimination to which their brothers are subjected in this country, and point out to them the way by which enduring freedom may be acquired. Reporting conditions of hopeful progress in their own land, with educational advancement and religious regeneration, they symbolize the best that the negro has yet accomplished and stand as examples for the encouragement of the race.

And so we reach the final thought. On the eve of this coming celebration of Lincoln's birth, in this hour of the discouragement of the race for whose welfare he so mightily strove and so steadfastly endured, are we certain that we have caught the inspiration of his exalted life and that we are worthy and competent to complete the work which he so nobly advanced? Are our professions of devotion to his memory, after all, anything more than hollow lip-service, and have we in our hearts the courage and in our minds the intelligence and resolution to solve the negro problem as Lincoln would have had it solved? Do we possess that large and tolerant comprehension of the weaknesses and incapacities of the unformed negro character so needful to guide us in our dealings with the race? Have we sufficient confidence in the character of the negro people and in its ability to attain the stature of manhood and womanhood to justify us in opening to it the gates of opportunity? These are the ultimate questions of our negro problem.

For surely, if, uncertain in purpose, we postpone; if through timidity we evade; if through avarice we oppress; on our children and on our children's children, even to remotest generations, the penalty will fall. And if by such unworthy evasion of the plainest duty we condemn the negro to a continuance of industrial oppression, to social proscription, and to political effacement, and in so doing in corresponding measure effect our national debasement, then may we well

confess in our heart of hearts that our rejoicing in the abolishment of slavery was premature, that the war for the preservation of the Union were better unfought, and that Lincoln's work was done in vain.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It had been the intention of the writer to prepare a somewhat extended bibliographical note of the literature pertaining to the solution of the negro problem and to indicate therein in some detail the authorities relied upon as his sources of information. The unexpected dimensions to which his work has grown make this course inadvisable. This is the less to be regretted as in the case of nearly all important statements of fact either the authority has been given in the text or is readily accessible in the histories or other standard works upon the subject. His practice has been to avoid as far as practicable the use of footnotes in order that the reader's attention might not be distracted from the current of the thought.

Some of the authorities and sources of information may, however, be of interest.

a. As to the general condition of the negro race in the United States, its history and prospects, the reading of the author has been quite widely extended. It embraces the various histories of the negro race in this country, the census statistics relating to its progress, and a careful reading of magazine and newspaper comment and discussion during the past five years. The author has found the description of negro life and conditions contained in the work of Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, hereinafter noted, especially helpful.

b. The views expressed as to the political and other conditions prevailing in the South are derived from a careful examination of the statistics of the Twelfth Census, the political statistics published in the New York *Tribune Almanac*,

and a diligent reading of newspapers and magazines published in that section. The sentiments of the political leaders of the Southern States have been deduced from their speeches as reported in the newspapers, and from a painstaking examination of the pages of the *Congressional Record*, which is a storehouse of enlightening material upon the views entertained by the statesmen of the South. This has been supplemented by conversations with many well informed persons from the South upon the general subject.

c. To ascertain the thought of the negro upon the problem recourse has been had to the published works of President Booker T. Washington, Professor William E. Burghardt DuBois, Professor Kelly Miller, and other negro essayists, supplemented by the regular reading of the *Colored American Magazine* and various other negro periodicals. The writer has also listened to many addresses by prominent negroes, and, when opportunity afforded, conversed with members of the race who appeared to have given the question some thoughtful consideration.

d. Upon the subject of lynching the work of Dr. James Elbert Cutler, cited in the text, has been freely consulted, together with the statistics compiled by the *Chicago Tribune*, which have been courteously furnished. The principal reliance, however, has been upon the published accounts of these atrocities contained in the newspapers during the past five years, which fully establish the intimate relation between the negro and this species of criminality.

e. Upon other subjects the authorities are generally clearly indicated. Lincoln's views are presented in his own well chosen words. The statements of fact relating to Hayti and the African continent are, it is believed, supported by the most recent authorities. While seeking to avoid exaggeration, the writer has also endeavored not to be misled by statements of conditions relating to these countries which either never existed or have in large part passed away.

AUTHORITIES

In 1906 the United States published a pamphlet entitled *Select List of References on the Negro Question, compiled under the direction of Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906.* The list contains a full bibliography of the subject to the date of publication.

There is but little to be gained by the examination of works on the subject prior to 1870. The foregoing list will be furnished by the Librarian of Congress upon application and contains a note of substantially everything of value bearing upon the subject up to the time of its appearance.

A memorandum of a few of the more important works bearing upon the general subject which have since appeared is appended.

Studies in the American Race Problem. By ALFRED HOLT STONE. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908. With an introduction and three papers by Walter F. Wilcox.

A series of essays discussing the negro problem from a distinctively Southern view-point. Devoting his attention principally to the study of the economic condition of the black man, Mr. Stone finds but little of encouragement in the material or moral prospects of the race.

Following the Color Line. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908.

The work of a trained newspaper reporter who spent months in the most minute study of the problem of the negro. From Boston to New Orleans, Mr. Baker followed the color line and in his work he describes the actual condition of the American negro of to-day.

Race Adjustment. Essays on the Negro in America. By KELLY MILLER. New York, Neale Publishing Co., 1908.

A series of essays treating the subject in scholarly

fashion from the negro's view-point. Full of indignant protest against the social discrimination to which the negro is subjected, the writer eloquently pleads for fuller recognition of the virtues of his race.

Vital American Problems. An Attempt to Solve the "Trust," "Labor," and "Negro" Problems. By HENRY EARL MONTGOMERY. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press, 1908.

The third part of the work, embracing about one hundred and fifty pages, is devoted to a discussion of the negro problem. Reviewing the facts relating to the negro's history and present condition, the author arrives at no conclusion, and so far as his work purports to be an attempt to solve the "negro" problem the title is misleading. It is simply an inconsequential discussion.

Some Southern Questions. By W. A. McCORKLE. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

A temperate discussion of the question in connection with other questions affecting the South. No conclusion as to the solution is reached.

The Negro, Past, Present, and Future. By JOHN AMBROSE PRICE. Neale Publishing Company, 1907.

Three hundred pages of profitless discussion from the extreme Southern standpoint. The conclusion is stated at page 275 as follows:

"The negro, being a descendant of Ham, can be made subservient to human use, for his manifest destiny is that of a servant, and the ordinance of God requires that he should be placed in a subordinate position to a superior race."

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